

FINE ARTS DEPT.

THE ART BULLETIN

A QUARTERLY
PUBLISHED BY THE COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

JUNE 1937

VOLUME XXI

NUMBER 1



THE ART BULLETIN

A QUARTERLY PUBLISHED BY
THE COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

J U N E 1 9 5 7

VOLUME XXXIX

NUMBER TWO

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Articles and monographs for the new Supplement series should be addressed to the Editor of THE ART BULLETIN, Department of Art, University of California, Berkeley 4, Cal.; books for review should be addressed to the Book Review Editor, College Art Association, 432 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N.Y. Before submitting manuscripts, authors are requested to consult the "Notes for Contributors" printed in the March issue.

Entered as second-class matter at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., October 24, 1925, under the Act of March 3, 1879; additional entry at the Post Office at Princeton, New Jersey, November 3, 1948.

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THE INFLUENCE OF THE UTRECHT PSALTER IN CAROLINGIAN ART*

DIMITRI TSELLOS

THE importance of the Utrecht Psalter illustrations in the formation of early mediaeval art in various English and continental centers has been observed by a number of scholars who have called attention either to specific and direct relations with that famous work or have felt the diffusion of its style in a general way. Yet we know less about the relation of the Psalter to some important Carolingian works than we do about its influence in centers further removed from its place of origin. This study is intended to supplement existing knowledge concerning such relations and to assist in making more reliable generalizations on the subject. It will also throw some light upon the process by which Carolingian artists tried to assimilate their different sources and fuse them in a new form which at once honors the models and evinces a measure of considerable originality.

No one who has seen the original or a facsimile of the Utrecht Psalter would doubt its potential influence, even if the existing testimonials to its actual influence had been destroyed. Within its 166 illustrations it contains literally thousands of figures and objects representing almost every conceivable human activity in a Christian society of the Late Antique period. This very wealth in figures and motifs and the contingent difficulty of copying them must have served as a deterrent against their frequent complete duplication; indeed all the "copies" known to us are separated by fifty or a hundred years from each other, and only one of them may be said to have reproduced the entire group of miniatures.¹

Once such a manuscript was completed it is reasonable to believe that its encyclopedic contents would become known to many contemporary illustrators and to artists of the following generation who could use it as a source for many motifs. Thus the frequent appearance of animals in the Reims manuscripts may be due as much to the influence of the Utrecht Psalter as to the *Physiologus* of Bern.²

As has been pointed out before by others, the most obvious and probably most direct influence of the Psalter in the Carolingian period appears in two leaves bound in a tenth century manuscript of Rabanus Maurus now in the Düsseldorf public library.³ But the relation of the Utrecht Psalter to the Ebbo Gospels of the municipal library of Épernay is much more intriguing and illuminating.⁴

The Gospel Book came to Épernay from Hautvillers, a monastery near Reims. From the dedicatory poem addressed to Ebbo, archbishop of Reims from 816 to 835, we learn that it was a gift from Petrus, abbot of Hautvillers, and probably made there. Although destined for Ebbo,

* This study is dedicated to the memory of Professor Albert M. Friend, to whom I owe some of the conclusions reached here. Its preparation was materially assisted by the Graduate School Research Fund of the University of Minnesota.

1. The Harley Psalter (Brit. Mus., Harley ms 603) of about 1000; the Canterbury or Eadwine Psalter (Cambridge, Trinity College, M. R. 17), the only complete "copy" of about 1150; and the "Parisian" Canterbury Psalter (Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms lat. 8846) of about 1200.

2. Cf. G. Swarzenski, "Die karolingische Malerei und Plastik in Reims," *Jahrb. der kg. preuss. Kunstsamm.*, XXIII, 1902, pp. 87-88. H. Woodruff, "The *Physiologus* of Bern," *ART BULLETIN*, XII, 1930, p. 234.

3. A. Goldschmidt, "Der Utrecht psalter," *Rep. für Kunst-*

wissenschaft, XV, 1892, pp. 167f.; H. Otte, "Zwei Federzeichnungen aus dem X Jahrhundert," *Bonner Jahrbücher*, LXXII, pp. 76f.; G. Benson and D. Tselos, "New Light on the Origin of the Utrecht Psalter," *ART BULLETIN*, XIII, 1931, pp. 27f. The pictorial comparisons made there are sufficient to indicate that the Düsseldorf leaf was probably adapted directly from the Utrecht Psalter. H. Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art*, Chicago, 1954, p. 38, attributes it to Reims and dates it in 830 without discussion.

4. Épernay, Municipal Library, ms 1. A. Boinet, *La miniature carolingienne*, Paris, 1913, pls. 66-69 (hereafter referred to as Boinet). Goldschmidt, *op.cit.*, pp. 156-163, defines its style and includes earlier bibliography on the Gospels and related manuscripts. See also Benson and Tselos, *op.cit.*, pp. 20f.

it was left unfinished and never sent to him. It is very likely that the work on the codex was interrupted at the time of Ebbo's disgrace in 835 and kept in Hautvillers, where it was found at the time of the French Revolution.⁵ Janitschek,⁶ however, maintains that the manuscript must have been done before 823 because the dedicatory verses do not mention the missionary activities of Ebbo which began in 822. Berger, on the other hand, considers this conclusion unjustified because official panegyrics in the ninth century were usually "fort étrangers à la véritable histoire." He believes, therefore, that the manuscript dates just before 833, the year when Ebbo took sides in the conflict between the emperor and his sons, or at the latest before 835 when repercussions of such activity led to his destitution by the council of Thionville.⁷

The 833-835 date would seem to be borne out also by the derivative nature of the style of the miniatures and their relation to acceptedly earlier examples of the Reims school. Its close relation to that school and to the Utrecht Psalter was demonstrated by Goldschmidt,⁸ Durrieu,⁹ and Benson.¹⁰

But none of these scholars suggested that one manuscript might have influenced the other. Nor was there any reason to raise the question since their primary interest was to determine the school affiliations of the manuscripts rather than their claim to chronological priority and genetic interrelation. In the light of our present knowledge, however, it is possible to state that the Ebbo miniatures were not merely the products of the Reims school but that they derived from two earlier phases of that school, one represented by the relatively "monumental" impressionism of the Vienna Gospel portraits and the other by the lyric or "cursive" manner of the Utrecht Psalter, which is usually considered the best representative of the second phase of the school of Reims.¹¹

In studying the Carolingian Renaissance in relation to the lone Evangelist painted on the purple leaf inserted in the Xanten Gospels, Hanns Swarzenski concluded that the Matthew portrait of the Ebbo Gospels was modeled closely after the portrait of the purple leaf¹² (Figs. 2, 3). He based his conclusion upon the observation that neither figure has a halo, that their tunics and pallia are very similar, and that the delicate impressionism of the Xanten figure was translated into the linear expressionism of the Ebbo portrait.

Elsewhere I have questioned some of Swarzenski's conclusions concerning the origin and date of the Xanten leaf,¹³ and I regret that I find it necessary to differ with him on the relation of the two manuscripts involved in our present problem. Although I do not exclude the possibility of some influence from the Xanten leaf upon the Ebbo portrait, I find other affiliations much more satisfactory and Swarzenski's evidence unconvincing.

For instance, the absence of the halo in the Ebbo *Matthew* has been attributed to its absence in the Xanten leaf. But since it is also absent in the Ebbo *Mark* (Fig. 10), for which we have no parallel prototype in another set of Evangelists or any iconographic justification for its omission, it cannot be used as incontrovertible evidence of influence. Furthermore, the halo is also missing in the four seated Evangelists grouped at the bottom of the frontispiece of the Xanten Gospels which was painted by a different hand than that of the Xanten leaf.¹⁴ Closer analysis of the

5. P. Paris, "Sur un évangéliaire carolingien de la bibliothèque d'Épernay," *Comptes rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*, 1878, pp. 97-103.

6. H. Janitschek, *Die trierer Ada-handschrift*, Leipzig, 1889, pp. 93f.

7. S. Berger, *Histoire de la vulgate*, Paris, 1893, p. 279.

8. Goldschmidt, *loc.cit.*

9. P. Durrieu, "L'Origine du manuscrit célèbre dit le psautier d'Utrecht," *Mélanges Julien Havet*, Paris, 1895, pp. 639-657.

10. Benson and Tsilos, *op.cit.*, pp. 10f.

11. Janitschek (*op.cit.*, pp. 93f.) associated the Vienna,

Aachen, and Xanten Gospels with what he called the "Palatine" school centered at the royal palace at Aachen. Later examination of these works and other works affiliated specifically with Reims suggests that the works mentioned were really done at Reims and represent the earliest phase of that school. See G. Swarzenski, *op.cit.*, pp. 81f.; Durrieu, *op.cit.*, pp. 639f.; see also note 14 below.

12. H. Swarzenski, "The Xanten Purple Leaf and the Carolingian Renaissance," *ART BULLETIN*, XXXII, 1940, p. 11.

13. Tsilos, "A Greco-Italian School of Illuminators and Fresco Painters," *ART BULLETIN*, XXXVIII, 1956, pp. 1-30.

14. Boinet, pl. 60.

Xanten figure will show that the right arm is not enveloped in a sleeve as it is in the Ebbo *Matthew*, but is covered by a corner of the pallium, which terminates in an undulating fold hanging from the wrist. The Ebbo *Matthew* has a real sleeve, which must be identified with a tunic even though it is difficult to establish whether he wears both a tunic and a pallium or whether the two have been confused in such a way that the torso appears to be clothed in a tunic and the lower part of the body in a pallium. This is suggested by a comparison with the Vienna *Matthew* where the two garments are clearly distinguished from each other¹⁵ (Figs. 1, 2, 3). I do not know why the Ebbo artist used a tunic so prominently and at variance both with the Xanten and the Vienna parallel portraits, although I shall make a suggestion later. But I have no doubt that the primary model of the Ebbo *Matthew* is the corresponding Vienna portrait just noted. The two agree especially in the facial type with its heavy angular jaw and small projecting chin, and in the long fingers of the left hand which hold the inkhorn and rest heavily on the edge of the lectern as if to hold the book down. They agree also in the appearance of the long-fingered right hand with little finger dangling listlessly and with fourth finger retracted behind or below the adjacent ones as in the Vienna portrait. To these indicative details may be added the similarly prominent and clearly detached fold of drapery which hangs under the middle of the upper part of the leg, the protruding cushion which the authors appear to sit in front of rather than upon, and the closely analogous shaft of the lectern which is composed of heavy units of the bead-and-reel motif so characteristic of several Reims manuscripts.

Despite these striking similarities between the two figures and their accessories, it is evident that the Ebbo painter drew also upon some other model to complete his miniature. We must of course allow for some deviations from models as the understandable effort of every artist to achieve a measure of originality while paying homage to the venerable authenticity and age. The miniature in question, like its companion miniatures, seems to be an eclectic creation rather than either a copy or a free invention. The models in all cases seem to be the Vienna Gospels and the Utrecht Psalter.¹⁶

The differences in the arrangement of the feet of the *Matthew* portraits which we have just examined are to be explained by the fact that the Ebbo artist adapted in his figure the arrangement found in the Vienna *Luke*, where we also find the broad and clearly delineated sleeve and the wide footrest placed at the same angle.¹⁷

Thus the only thing besides the enigmatic omission of the halo that might have been inspired by the Xanten Evangelist is the fine linear modeling of the drapery. The rest of the elements in the Ebbo miniature, its associated Evangelists and its canon table decorations, seem to have been derived from the Utrecht miniatures whenever they could not be derived from the Vienna portraits.

In making the reservation concerning the derivation of the modeling of the drapery of the Ebbo *Matthew* from the Xanten portrait, I had in mind the fact that the nervous brushwork in the Ebbo miniature actually seems to derive more from the sketchy linearism of the Utrecht Psalter style than from the smooth and calm flow of the brushwork in the Xanten figure. As Goldschmidt first pointed out—but without implying a copy relationship—the Ebbo artist seems to have been trained in the linear manner of the Utrecht Psalter and to have carried over the technique into his painted commission.¹⁸ Durrieu and Boeckler went so far as to suggest that the Ebbo miniatures might have been done by one of the hands that worked in the Psalter miniatures.¹⁹ But that is

15. Vienna, Schatzkammer Gospels (Boinet, pls. 58-59), usually considered the most important work of the first phase of the Reims school. The stylistic and iconographic connections between the Vienna Gospels and other Reims works have been observed by several other scholars in a general way but without the analytical demonstration undertaken here.

16. Utrecht, University, MS 484. Details from the Utrecht Psalter miniatures were reproduced from the facsimile made

for the Palaeographical Society by Spencer, Sawyer, Bird and Co., London, 1875. References to other illustrations are made to the more recent facsimile published by E. T. De Wald, *The Illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter*, Princeton, 1932.

17. Boinet, pl. 59a.

18. Goldschmidt, "Utrechtpsalter," p. 159.

19. Durrieu, *loc. cit.*; A. Boeckler, *Abendländische Miniaturen*, Berlin, 1930, p. 28.

difficult to accept, for there is a certain perfunctory quality in the nervous line of the Ebbo figures which suggests that the linear impressionism established by the Psalter illustrations had lost something of its plastic quality and reached a *vibrato* of manneristic expressionism by the time the Ebbo Gospels were painted. Still, as may be noted by comparing Figures 2, 3 and 5, the linear modeling of the Ebbo *Matthew*, with its zigzag and syncopated lines stopping to permit a "highlighted" irregular band along the calf and shin of the right leg, is much closer to the Utrecht detail showing Saul among his guards than to the soft, steady modeling of the Xanten figure. From the foregoing analysis then it would appear that the Xanten figure had little or nothing to do with the Ebbo miniature.

As suggested earlier, the remaining motifs and accessories—or parts of them—in the *Matthew* miniature of the Ebbo Gospels seem to derive from the Psalter illustrations. Almost the exact duplicate of the Evangelist's angel symbol, whose wings sprout from behind his eager head and who holds a scroll, is found in a miniature of the Psalter (Figs. 2, 7). The shape and orientation of the writing tablet of the lectern of the Ebbo Evangelist and the altarlike stool, which differs from those in the Vienna and Xanten *Matthews*, can be readily accounted for by the corresponding and frequently used lecterns and thrones in the Psalter miniatures (Figs. 2, 4, 6). The diagonally streaked background of the figure, the umbrella tree, the overgrown grass, the palm growing out of a conical receptacle and the fragmentary architecture which decorates the landscape, are all found in the Psalter where they are more convincingly related to their setting and relative scale in relation to other objects.²⁰

The portrait of Mark in the Ebbo Gospels seems similarly indebted to the Vienna and Utrecht miniatures. His frontal position and the resting of the book on his left knee and even the manner of holding it were probably inspired by the Vienna *John* (Figs. 9, 10). But the extended right hand, which seems about to dip the pen into the inkstand with the tripod base, and the receptacle itself seem to have been adapted from the Vienna *Mark* (Figs. 8, 9, 10). The dynamic transformation of the figure of the Ebbo *Mark*, however, the face, loop of hair over the forehead, his ecstatic communication with his symbol, his galvanized drapery, the "ruffle" along the left leg, the unusual oblong book held open upright on his knee, the scalloped groundline at his feet, and the vegetation in the ground and over the hillock against which he is represented find their only counterparts in the miniatures of the Psalter and suggest that these and other similar details were adapted from the Psalter (Figs. 10, 12, 13, 14).

A similar eclectic process was apparently used in the creation of the two other Ebbo portraits. The Ebbo *Luke* is obviously adapted from the Vienna *Luke*,²¹ but it is made more dynamic by the expressionist agitation of the drapery, the abnormal attenuation of the hands holding the book, and the overflowing inkhorn, as well as the more emotionally expressive face of the Evangelist raised to communicate with his diminutive symbol in the upper right. The skyline of the background, the vegetation, which, like the ground, seems to have been churned by a whirlwind, are familiar details in the pages of the Utrecht Psalter even though they have undergone a capricious or manneristic exaggeration in the Gospel miniature. Likewise the lion-headed and lion-footed support of the "stool," as in the case of *Mark*, is a frequent detail among the many survivals of antique furniture in the Psalter and seems to be the only suggestion of a seat of some kind that has replaced the more prosaic but clearly functional boxlike stool of the Vienna *Luke*. The superfluous lectern which carries an extra book miraculously attached to the vertical tablet seems to be a capricious and illogical interpolation of the artist to take the place of the table with its fish-form shaft in the Vienna *Luke*. Its tripod base, a frequent detail in stands of various kinds in the Psalter,

20. For the ground effects, *passim* in the Utrecht miniatures; for the umbrella tree, *passim*; for the plant growing out of a cone, fol. 54; for a more substantial building, fol. 63v.

21. Compare Boinet, pls. 59a and 69a.



1. *Matthew*. Vienna, Schatzkammer Gospels,
fol. 15



2. *Matthew*. Épernay, Mun. Lib., Ebbo Gospels,
fol. 18v



3. *Matthew* (?). Brussels, Roy. Lib., Xanten
Gospels (insert)



4. Fol. 45



5. Fol. 91v



6. Fol. 26



7. Fol. 57

4-7. Utrecht Psalter, details



8. *Mark*, fol. 76v



9. *John*, fol. 178v

8-9. Vienna, Schatzkammer Gospels, details



10. *Mark*, fol. 60v



11. *John*, fol. 134v
10-11. Épernay, Mun. Lib., Ebbo Gospels, details



12. Utrecht Psalter, fol. 26 (detail)



13. Utrecht Psalter,
fol. 30 (detail)



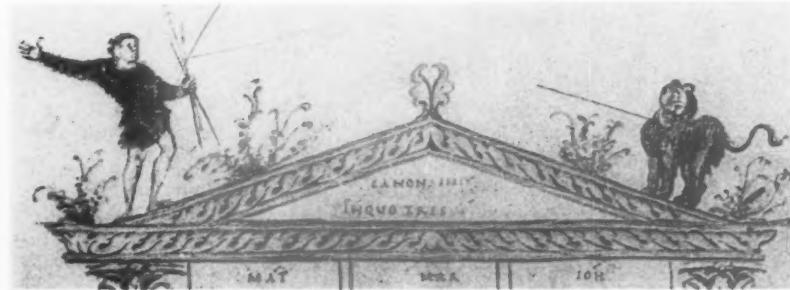
14. Utrecht Psalter,
fol. 59 (detail)



15. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Drogo
Sacramentary, fol. 78 (detail)



16. Utrecht Psalter,
fol. 14 (detail)



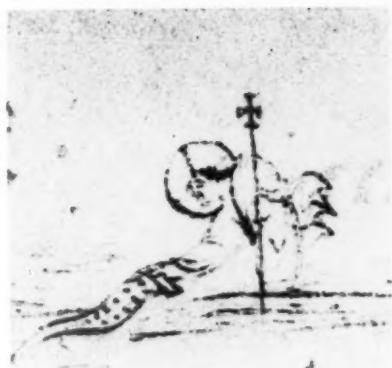
17. Épernay, Mun. Lib., Ebbo Gospels, fol. 13 (detail of Canon Table)



18. Utrecht Psalter,
fol. 46v (detail)



19. Épernay, Mun. Lib., Ebbo Gospels, fol. 13 (detail of Canon Table)



20. Fol. 74



21. Fol. 72v
20-22. Utrecht Psalter, details



22. Fol. 13



23. Fol. 44v

23-24. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Drogo Sacramentary, details



24. Fol. 24v



25. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Drogo Sacramentary
fol. 12 (details)



26. Utrecht Psalter, fol. 12 (detail)



27. Fol. 88v



28. Fol. 54v

27-28. Utrecht Psalter, details



29. Reliquary of St. Stephen (detail)
Munich Schatzkammer



30. Utrecht Psalter,
fol. 82 (detail)



31. Reliquary of St. Stephen (detail)
Munich Schatzkammer



32. Utrecht Psalter,
fol. 53v (detail)



33. Golden Covers (detail)
New York, Morgan Library



34. Utrecht Psalter,
fol. 53v (detail)



35. Ciborium of King Arnulf (detail)
Munich Schatzkammer



36. Fol. 18v



37. Fol. 75

36-37. Utrecht Psalter, details



38. Golden Book Covers (detail)
Munich, State Library

seems to be a variant of the other lecterns or inkstands in the Ebbo miniatures whereas the spiral shaft is identical with some of the columns of the Ebbo canon tables.

The eclectic genesis of the Ebbo *John* is somewhat more complicated than that of his companion Evangelists. The Ebbo painter evidently adapted the frontal type of bearded Evangelist from the Vienna *John*, which also suggested the pen hand poised to write (Figs. 9, 11). The lower half of the Ebbo figure is virtually identical with the Ebbo *Mark* (Figs. 10, 11). But for the upper half the artist adapted the corresponding features of the Vienna *Mark*, especially evident in the extended and open left hand which carries the scroll draped across the lap and rolled up at both ends (Figs. 8, 11). The similarity with the Vienna *Mark* extends also to the nature of the inkstand with its bead-and-reel shaft and tripod base. The rest of the miniature would seem to be indebted to the Psalter manner in the rendering of the sketchy landscape setting, the diminutive eagle with its open wings, the tree at the left of the Evangelist, the ruffle along the left leg, the lively stance, the direction of the eyes toward the symbol, and the altarlike stool which like the lion-headed furniture is common in the Psalter (Figs. 10, 11, 12, 13).

The evident dependence of the Ebbo portraits on the Vienna Evangelists and on the Psalter miniatures would seem to preclude the possibility of their having derived to any appreciable degree from the Xanten leaf. Whether the Xanten portrait during its Carolingian existence had associates that might have provided those elements which I traced to the Vienna and Utrecht miniatures is a speculation unwarranted by the available facts.

An analysis of the Ebbo canon tables seems to confirm my belief that the Ebbo miniatures were derived from the two Carolingian works referred to above.²²

The spear-thrower, whose weapon has just pierced the neck of the amusingly contorted lion which confronts him, assumes a pose proper to an archer and not to a man who has just thrown a spear. It suggests a derivation from a figure similar to a Bowman (Figs. 16 and 17). An analogy that might explain the contorted animal is seen in one of the many Utrecht lions in comparable positions (Figs. 17, 18).

The two hunters or warriors (Fig. 19) provide perhaps the best evidence that the decorations of the canon tables were not created for the places they occupy but were adapted from another source. The archer who is about to shoot an arrow at the bird on the acroterion is easily found in the Psalter (Fig. 21). His opponent ready to hurl the spear—an unlikely weapon for hunting birds—does not show his profile as required by his relation to the bird and opposing figure, but presents little more than the back of the head. This fact, together with the contortion of his torso, implies that he is aiming at an objective placed diagonally inwards and not at the bird or even at the archer on the other side of the pediment. Similar figures in the Psalter have as an objective the figure of the Psalmist in the middle ground of the miniature and their positions are thus easily explained (Fig. 22); but the Ebbo figure, after having been taken out of its original context, seems to have been adapted improperly to its new connection on the canon table.

The similarities between the Ebbo canon tables and the Psalter miniatures can be multiplied until nothing is left without a parallel or without the suggestion that the Ebbo detail was inspired by a similar detail in the Psalter. Goldschmidt and Durrieu had also observed that practically everything could be paralleled to the smallest detail in style and content in the Utrecht Psalter.²³

22. In addition to the several canon tables illustrated in Boinet, pls. 66-67, there are a number of detailed descriptions of the decoration of others in Goldschmidt, *op.cit.*, p. 157.

23. Goldschmidt, *op.cit.*, p. 158; Durrieu, *op.cit.*, p. 655. It might be worthwhile to specify or localize some of these analogies in the two works; the contorted man rushing to receive a plant in a conical receptacle from another (Boinet, pl. 67a) is duplicated in fol. 6v of the Psalter, where the pose is better motivated; his counterpart on the other side of the canon table will be found everywhere in the Psalter where

there are figures holding palms and rushing forward. The plants are found in fol. 54. The two standing men who serve as acroteria (Boinet, pl. 67b) find their parallels in the Psalter even more frequently (fol. 26v, 62v, 72, 83); the other set of human acroteria chiseling at the end of the cornice (Boinet, pl. 66b) find their counterpart in fol. 62v; the olive tree with its knotty and tortuous branches, sparse leaves, and birds, and its companion "umbrella" tree are paralleled in fol. 49 and 34v of the Psalter respectively.

But in their opinion then the parallels were merely indicative of the common center in which the two works were made and not of the derivation of one from the other. In the light of my demonstration the parallels assume a new meaning.

The foregoing evidence of the derivation of the Ebbo illustrations from the Schatzkammer Gospels and the Utrecht Psalter suggests that both models must have been in Reims or Hautvillers. Although we can assume a certain mobility of important persons and manuscripts from center to center, the dependence of the Ebbo Gospels and other works of the Reims school upon the Vienna portraits would tend to confirm Georg Swarzenski's theory that Janitschek's "Palatine" school was nothing more than the first phase of the Reims school and had nothing to do with Aachen. Swarzenski's position was strengthened by the earlier observation of Durrieu that the Blois Gospels, an acceptedly Reims work, had copied its Evangelists from the Vienna portraits. To this might be added the fact that the Cleves Gospels which have all the earmarks of a Reims work seem to have adapted their Evangelists from the Vienna and the Ebbo miniatures.²⁴

Although the Ebbo Gospels are undoubtedly the most important Reims work under the direct influence of the Utrecht Psalter, there are several others which seem to have inherited the nervous linear manner and the dynamic forms of the Psalter but it is not always possible to tell whether the influence was direct or indirect.²⁵

The diffusion of the linear manner of the Reims school, of which the most important representative was probably the Utrecht Psalter, can be traced to other schools as well, but I have limited my study to those relationships which suggest the direct influence of the Psalter.²⁶

The school of Metz seems to have been chronologically the closest; its few works are clearly dependent upon the school of Reims for many stylistic and iconographic elements. The most important example is the Drogo Sacramentary,²⁷ made for Drogo, son of Charlemagne and Bishop of Metz (823-855). Its illustration consists entirely of historiated initials which show charming variety and ingenuity in the mingling of episodes from the life of Christ in the trellislike forms decorated with luxuriant foliage. Weber,²⁸ and others who have studied the manuscript and a few other related works, attributed the Sacramentary to Metz on palaeographical grounds. But stylistically and, in many instances, iconographically it is so closely related to the school of Reims and especially to the Utrecht Psalter that the possibility of a direct influence should not be excluded. Boeckler summarized succinctly the characteristics of the school of Metz and affirmed its dependence on the school of Reims and particularly on the Utrecht Psalter.²⁹ The nature and

24. Compare Boinet, pls. 58, 59, 68, 69 with 70. Other Reims works with Evangelist portraits dependent on the Vienna Gospels are the Loisel Gospels (Boinet, pl. 74), and the St. Thierry Gospels (Boinet, pl. 77). In view of the close proximity of Reims to Hautvillers, it would be difficult to say whether the intimate affiliation of the Ebbo Gospels to the Utrecht Psalter indicates that both were done at Hautvillers or that the Psalter was loaned by Reims to Hautvillers. Cf. F. Wormald, *English Drawings of the Tenth and Eleventh Century*, London, 1952, p. 21.

25. In this category I would place the Gospels of Cleves, Loisel, and St. Thierry, and the Leyden (Lez) Prudentius. The Reims connections of the last work have been demonstrated by Helen Woodruff ("The Illustrated Manuscripts of Prudentius," *Art Studies*, VII, 1929, pp. 51f., figs. 43f.) by comparisons with the Psalter miniatures, but it is evident that the connection is indirect. Suggestions of similar indirect but still strong connections will be seen in the walls, violent movement of the figures, and the sketchy style of the Ste.-Aure Gospels (Boinet, pl. 137); the sketchy clouds and mountains of the Gospels of Noailles (Boinet, pl. 136); and the same elements in the Gospels of Cologne (Boinet, pl. 84).

26. Such indirect influence is suggested by the middle and late phases of the school of Tours in the nervous linearism of the figures and some iconographic details but the problem does

not merit extended attention here. Cf. H. Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art*, pp. 18f., pls. 4-19.

27. Drogo Sacramentary, Paris, Bib. Nat., Ms lat. 9428.

28. L. Weber, *Einbanddecken, Elfenbeintafeln, Miniaturen, Schriftsproben aus metzer liturgischen Handschriften*, Reichenberg, 1912, pp. 1f. In addition to the Drogo Sacramentary there is a ninth century gospel book with smaller initials of the same style and with similar iconography suggestive of Reims and the Utrecht Psalter (Bib. Nat., ms lat. 9388).

29. A. Boeckler, *Abendländische Miniaturen*, pp. 30f. Despite the modifications of the setting of the Drogo St. John (Boinet, pl. 88), his clearly differentiated garments, and the two inspiring eagles—one of which is practically as large as the Evangelist—the figure type, and his pose in relation to the lectern are clearly derived from the Ebbo Matthew. (Cf. Boinet, pls. 68 and 88.) Other scenes in the Sacramentary which are paralleled iconographically and stylistically in the Utrecht Psalter and which can be found in Boinet (pls. 86-90) and De Wald (*op.cit.* as indicated below) are: The martyrdom of Peter, Paul and Lawrence (De Wald, pl. 31); Christ appearing to the Women (De Wald, pl. 38); Massacre of the Innocents (De Wald, pl. 87); Nativity of Christ (De Wald, pls. 135, 139); Presentation in the Temple (De Wald, pl. 141); The Women at the Sepulchre (De Wald, pl. 142). To these may be added smaller pictorial motifs such

extent of the dependence on the Psalter, however, is not realized without the illustration of a few sample motifs from the Utrecht miniatures and their apparent adaptation in the Sacramentary.

Since the Drogo initials and their pictorial details are painted rather than drawn they lack some of the linear vitality of the Psalter miniatures, but enough remains in the translation to point to the model and to the capacity of the painter to adapt the linear drawings to a painted manner.

Perhaps the most instructive is the scene of the Last Supper which is represented as an open air event showing only nine or ten Apostles with Judas in the forefront extending his hand to receive the sop from the hand of Christ (Fig. 23). The placement on one side of the table of all three lion-headed and lion-footed legs of the table, the strange crowding of the apostles on the far side of the table without any visible suggestion of a place to sit and especially the precarious perching of Christ upon a mound of earth or rounded rock, clearly imply the derivative nature of this setting. But we do not understand what its precise source might be until we turn to an open air feast in a Utrecht Psalter miniature where the legs of the table are more functionally distributed and where the figures are more rationally related to the table around which they are disposed and seated upon the ground (Fig. 26).

The multitude of startled, agitated, and otherwise active and charming angels in the Psalter inevitably reappear in the wake of the diffusion of its style and iconography. The Drogo initials are no exception, for they contain many angels in different sizes and activities. Of these, however, the most clearly suggestive of inspiration from the Utrecht Psalter are shown in Figures 25 and 28 with their nearest counterparts in a detail from the latter work.

The scene of the Washing of the Christ Child, which in the Drogo initial is separated widely from the scene of the reclining Virgin and sleeping Joseph of the *Nativity*, repeats the type found in the Psalter, where we also find the same chalice-like wash basin. Even the two kneeling midwives who wash the Christ Child have the same sketchy drapery and a headdress which comes sharply to a knob or a point (Figs. 24, 27). The figure of Christ, whose head is surrounded by a large cruciform halo and who holds a cruciform staff and extends his right hand to touch the Holy Spirit shown in the form of a dove as it leaves the hand of God the Father, has its counterpart in the Psalter where Christ displays an open scroll in his right hand for the Psalmist below (Figs. 15, 20).

Even more extensive and varied seems to have been the influence of the Utrecht Psalter upon the school of St.-Denis. This important center of advanced Carolingian culture was discovered by Friend.³⁰ Its eclectic character has been admitted even by those who had ascribed its works to Corbie.³¹ The change of style in the works of St.-Denis in the late sixties coincides, as Friend pointed out, with the death in 867 of Louis, abbot of St.-Denis, and the retention of the abbacy by King Charles the Bald for himself. Whether or not the King brought his library to St.-Denis remains a question. But the eclectic nature of the works of the school implies the existence in one place of a number of manuscripts coming from different Carolingian centers, the style and iconography of which are reflected in the works of St.-Denis. A royal library such as Charles the Bald is known to have possessed would be the most logical source. His official relation to the monastery of St.-Denis, the liturgical connections with the same institution of important manuscripts which contain pictorial and literary references to him and to his wife, and the legacy of a large part of his library to that abbey during the last third of the ninth century support such a view.

as the short-horn oxen similarly disposed (Boinet, pl. 86; De Wald, pls. 38, 137); offertory or sacrificial motifs (Boinet, *loc.cit.*; De Wald, pl. 89); the quatrefoil basin or baptismal font (Boinet, pl. 89; De Wald, pl. 131); etc. Cf. also Durrieu, *op.cit.*, pp. 653-54.

³⁰ A. M. Friend, "Carolingian Art in the Abbey of St. Denis," *Art Studies*, 1, 1933, pp. 67f.

³¹ The school was originally localized at Corbie by Janitschek (*op.cit.*), but Friend's claims for St.-Denis seem much more convincing, at least with those works which seem most closely associated with the Reims school and especially with the Utrecht Psalter style. The St.-Denis output consists of illustrated manuscripts, ivory, metal work, and crystal carving. Cf. H. Swarzenski, *loc.cit.*

The eclectic nature of the works of St.-Denis has been pointed out also by Friend.³² The architectural frames around the portraits of the Evangelists seem to be a contribution of the Ada school.³³ Many of the figures of the miniatures of the Bible of St. Paul in Rome, of the Codex Aureus of Munich and the Sacramentary of St.-Denis (formerly of "Metz") show the solid bodies, the heads with dark piercing eyes, the long straight noses, square chins, and short cropped hair characteristic of the figures in the works of the school of Tours.³⁴ But the panoramic settings, the agitated movements of the figures, the nervous linearism in their draperies and a multitude of pictorial details seem to come from the Reims school.³⁵ Many of the Reims elements suggest that they might have come from the Utrecht Psalter miniatures themselves.

There is no evidence that the Utrecht Psalter was ever at St.-Denis, but the close connections of that abbey with Reims is indicated by the fact that Hincmar, the archbishop of Reims, was the trusted advisor of Charles the Bald and was brought up at St.-Denis under Hilduin.³⁶ Even if such personal connection were disregarded, the evidence of ecclesiastical treasures tends to establish a close relation between the two centers. The imitation of the style of the Utrecht Psalter and the adaptation or duplication of some of its miniatures in works associated with St.-Denis would imply its presence there at some time during the second half of the ninth century.

Among these treasures there are two sets of ivory covers which probably belonged to Charles the Bald and which seem to be largely dependent on the iconography and the style of the Utrecht Psalter, as shown by Goldschmidt and Rahn.³⁷

32. Friend, *op.cit.*, pp. 71f.

33. Boinet, pls. 7b and 117a; 19b and 117b; Friend, *op.cit.*, p. 72.

34. Cf. Boinet, pls. 48, 122, and 132a; Friend, *loc.cit.*

35. Cf. especially Boinet, pls. 63a, 125, 132 and 133 for Christ; pls. 64b and 124a for panoramic view and architecture; Friend, *loc.cit.*

36. Friend, *op.cit.*, p. 73.

37. Goldschmidt, *op.cit.*, 165; *idem.*, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*. . . . 1, p. 26; O. Rahn ("Nachbildung des Utrechtspalters auf zwei karolingische Elfenbeintafeln," *Anzeigen für schweizerische Altertumskunde*, N. F., x, 1910, pp. 40-45) thinks that they were done in the same place as the Psalter. See also Friend, *op.cit.*, p. 72. The more delicately carved set which is said to have covered the prayerbook of the king contains scenes which are based on the Psalter miniatures illustrating Psalms 25 and 27. Next to the metal reliefs their style is the nearest translation in relief sculpture of the lyric quality of the miniatures, and preserves something of their illusionism. Yet the postures and gestures of the figures in the ivories have been forced into a more dynamic expressionism and the sense of space was considerably reduced. Except for the compression or elimination of some of the angels, the "enemies," and the "meek," necessitated by the change in the axis of the compositions and the consequent limitation of space, there are no changes in the iconography. Direct inspiration from the Psalter miniatures is therefore very probable.

The other set, which served as covers for the Psalter of Charles the Bald, bears scenes illustrating Psalms 51 and 57. The style is somewhat heavier than the covers of the prayerbook. The figures are larger and there are deep undercuts. But the postures of the figures, their gestures, certain conventions in their drapery, the architectural setting, and the composition are so closely related to the corresponding Psalter miniatures as to seem dependent upon them directly or indirectly.

The last reservation was made in order to permit a possible intermediary since the ivory plaques contain certain iconographic changes which Goldschmidt (*Elfenbeinskulpturen*. . . . 1, pp. 24-25) attributes to a revision by reference to the text of the Psalms. He believes that the angel on the bed in the upper center is holding the soul of the Psalmist (Psalm 57:1, "my soul trusteth in thee") and not protecting the body of the Psalmist with his wings as in the Psalter miniature (*ibid.*,

"yea in the shadow of thy wings will I take my refuge"). If this interpretation is true, we must attribute certain other changes to the same method of revision. The representation in the Psalter of Mercy and Truth as small half figures leaving "heaven" to "save" the Psalmist may depend upon Verse 3: "God shall send forth his mercy and his truth." In the ivory, the two personifications are more "monumental" in scale and may illustrate Verse 10: "For thy mercy is great unto the heavens, and thy truth unto the clouds." The third change is noted in the lower register of the ivory. There are shown one man digging, one running away, and two "falling" into a pit in the center for: "they have digged a pit before me, into the midst whereof they are fallen themselves." In the Psalter miniature there are four men too, but arranged more or less symmetrically: two of them running away from the pit they have dug, and two others falling into the same pit. The representation in the ivory of the man digging is therefore an interpolation by reference to the text.

The differences in the plaque illustrating the Psalm 51 are less extensive. The architectural setting seems quite different, but it is in reality based on the building types found in the miniature except that they are transposed. Bathsheba, David, Nathan, and the body of Uriah are in the same relative position as in the Psalter miniature. Bathsheba, however, is shown spinning (?) and David without a crown. The greatest difference is shown in the illustration of the parable (II Samuel 12:1-4). In the Psalter the rich man is shown as a shepherd amid his "flocks and herds" commanding his servant to take the ewe lamb from the poor man's arms. In the ivory, however, the parable was abbreviated and placed at the lowest level. It shows on the left the poor man with his ewe lamb in "his bosom" and on the right the rich man (almost a duplicate of David and perhaps intentionally) admiring his flock of sheep. This simplification may have been forced upon the artist by the limited space at his disposal, but it is undoubtedly an intentional and a rather sophisticated revision.

Goldschmidt (*Elfenbeinskulpturen*, *loc.cit.*) includes both sets in his "Liuthard" group but they were probably done at St.-Denis in the later phase of that center as comparisons between the figures of the ivories and those of other works from the same center show. (Cf. Friend, *op.cit.*, p. 72.)

To this group of ivories he relates four more pieces, three in the Compiègne Museum and one in the Victoria and Albert

From the abbey of St.-Denis came also a number of less well known works in metal the stylistic connections of which with the Psalter miniatures are even more obvious than those of most of the ivories associated with the school. The abbey was known as a famous center of goldsmithery even at the time of the Abbot Louis, the predecessor of Charles the Bald. Furthermore, not only does the most important goldsmith work of the time bear a family resemblance to the school but some pieces are even historically associated with the abbey. These include the golden covers of the Gospels of St. Emmeran, the Morgan (formerly "Ashburnham") covers, the portable ciborium of King Arnulf and the reliquary of St. Stephen.

The St. Emmeran covers are held by Friend to be the same covers as those attached to the Gospels when they were given by Count Odo to King Arnulf in the 890's.³⁸ He finds an identity of style between the miniatures and the covers. But a more detailed comparison of the two does not bear out such conclusion. The figures of the covers with their tapering forms and fluttering drapery are much closer to the lyric style of Reims, while the figures of the miniatures carry a larger share of the heavier style of Tours.³⁹ The figure of Christ from the scene on the covers showing the Healing of a Blind Man is only one of many figures which can be virtually duplicated in the Utrecht Psalter miniatures. The characteristic agitated figures with their exclamatory gestures and fluttering drapery and the rolling ground line agree very closely (Figs. 37, 38).

The figures of the Evangelists from the same covers also have interesting and strong counterparts in figures in the Psalter but need not be illustrated here.⁴⁰

The masterpiece of St.-Denis metal work is probably the front cover of the Morgan Gospels representing the Crucifixion. The angels surrounding the cross reveal the same delicate modeling, elegant tapering bodies, fluttering draperies, and nervous gestures as the figures of the Golden Codex covers only made more plastic in a physical and aesthetic sense. Friend's attribution of the Morgan covers to the school of St.-Denis seems entirely justified. But his theory that the popularity of angel representations in the work of St.-Denis was due to the translation of the Celestial Hierarchy of Pseudo-Dionysios is difficult to accept.⁴¹ One of the most characteristic features of the Utrecht Psalter miniatures is the great number of angels. These must have existed in the model and therefore cannot have depended on the translation of the book mentioned. They are common even in the Greek literal psalter in the Vatican (Gr. 1927).⁴² It is possible that the Celestial Hierarchy had something to do with their use in the Morgan covers as in other St.-Denis works, but stylistically they are clearly related to the types appearing in the Utrecht Psalter (cf. Figs. 30 and 33).

The relation of the Utrecht Psalter to the Reliquary of St. Stephen was established by Rosenberg.⁴³ But his ingenious means of showing how the figure of *Malis Vindicta* fits into a Psalter miniature was hardly necessary. This unusual personification contained in a medallion (which together with three other subjects in similar medallions were multiplied by means of a die and

(Goldschmidt, *op.cit.*, p. 25). The linear character of the drapery and the contrapposto of the prophets in the first three of the four recall immediately the Psalter miniatures. But their indebtedness to them is not fully understood until we compare the man seen from the back with the Psalmist in the Psalter miniature for Psalm 101. The fourth ivory represents a Transfiguration. If we remove the buildings which are decorative and unnecessary additions to the subject, and place to the left the central figure of the ecstatic Apostle who has been warped to fit arbitrarily a symmetrical scheme, we have essentially the composition of the Utrecht Psalter (fol. 83v). The date of the ivory in the middle of the ninth century and its relation to the "Liuthard" group makes direct inspiration possible (Goldschmidt, *Elfeneinskulpturen*, pp. 36f.).

38. Friend, *op.cit.*, pp. 73f.; G. Leidinger, *Der Codex Aureus der bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munchen*, Munich, 1921, pp. 43f. Both Leidinger (*loc.cit.*) and W. Schmidt (*Eine*

Goldschmidtschule in Regensburg um das Jahr 1000, Munich, 1893, pp. 24-26), who studied the covers, conclude that they are contemporary with the Gospels they cover.

39. Compare for instance the figures on the covers illustrated in Leidinger (*op.cit.*, frontispiece) with any of those in the miniatures of the Codex Aureus and any miniature from the Psalter (Boinet, pls. 61-65, or De Wald, *op.cit.*, *passim*).

40. They are comparable to seated figures writing on scrolls or sharpening their quill pens (Leidinger, *op.cit.*, frontispiece; De Wald, *op.cit.*, fol. 73, 66).

41. Friend, *op.cit.*, p. 68.

42. Tselos, *The Sources of the Utrecht Psalter Miniatures*, Minneapolis, 1955, pls. 22f.

43. M. Rosenberg, "Das Stephansreliquiar im Lichte des Utrechtpsalters," *Jahrb. preuss. Kunsts.*, XLIII, 1922, pp. 169-184.

constitute the entire decoration of the reliquary) was probably adapted from the miniature of the Psalter showing Christ trampling upon the beast (Figs. 29, 32). All that the goldsmith had to do was to add the weapons and the wings—the latter from one of the angels carrying the mandorla of Christ. The two figures agree in the agitated vertical movement suggesting the action of a person trampling something or attempting to extricate himself from a bog. Corroborative evidence for this hypothesis comes from the figure of the archer whose unique posture—shooting his arrow and rushing in the opposite direction—is found in the same miniature (Figs. 31, 34).⁴⁴ The nude figure of a seated fisherman, the fish, the tree, and other details of enigmatic meaning which decorate the other medallions of the reliquary, can be duplicated also in the Psalter miniatures but in a less striking way.

The portable ciborium of King Arnulf, which he gave together with the Codex Aureus to the monastery of St. Emmeran, undoubtedly belongs to the same group of metal works and was probably done in the same atelier as the Golden covers. Creutz,⁴⁵ who was the first to publish the only complete, if small, illustration of the object and provides a list of the subjects from the New Testament represented on it, believes not only that it was done in the same workshop as the St. Emmeran covers, but that it was executed by the same goldsmith. But a comparison of Christ from the Ciborium with the Christ from the covers (Figs. 35, 38) shows only a general resemblance; the flatter and more sharply linear figures of the Ciborium point to a different hand. In fact, the Ciborium artist seems to have translated the style of the Psalter more accurately than the artist of the covers. Nevertheless in their analogous linearism and expressive gestures, they all unite in testimony to their common dependence upon the Utrecht illustrations (Figs. 35, 36, 37, 38).

Several other works of metal or crystal have been identified with the St.-Denis school, but their relation to the Utrecht Psalter seems to be indirect and therefore discussion of them lies outside the scope of this study.⁴⁶

The influence of the Utrecht Psalter, operating directly and indirectly, undoubtedly altered considerably the character of many works in post-Carolingian French, Franco-Flemish, Anglo-Saxon, Franco-German, German, and Swiss centers. But, with the exception of certain areas and monuments in the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman periods in which the direct influence of the Utrecht miniatures can be rather reliably established, the clues to specific affiliations are difficult to isolate and interpret. But that is another part of the history of the influence of the Utrecht Psalter and merits a separate study.

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44. De Wald, *op.cit.*, pl. 84.

45. M. Creutz, *Kunstgeschichte der edlen Metalle*, Stuttgart, 1909, p. 95. On the eight sloping sides of the gabled roofs and on the four tympana of the pediments, there are the twelve representations which constitute the figural decoration of the ciborium, now in the Munich Schatzkammer. These are: Christ with a disciple; Christ, Lazarus and a woman; Temptation of Christ in the Temple; Christ, Peter, and two sheep; Temptation of Christ on the mountain; Christ and Satan; Christ and disciple entering Jerusalem; Christ and a carrier with a dead body; and in the tympana an angel, the hand of God, the Lamb, and the Dove. Cf. H. Swarzemeski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art*, pp. 37f., who also assigns this and other foregoing works of ivory and gold to "Reims (?)" between 860 and 870.

46. Friend, *op.cit.*, pp. 73f. There is one possible exception. Among the several historiated gems and crystals from the same school, if not the same workshop, which seem closely related

to the St.-Denis works we have discussed, the magnificent Crystal of Lothair is the most important. It illustrates the vicissitudes of Susanna and the Elders. Comparison of the figures with those of the covers of the Codex Aureus shows clearly the figure style and mannerisms of Reims and of the Utrecht Pastoral. Although the figures and objects on the crystal are by virtue of the medium harder and more precise, they reflect the scale and the dynamic quality of the Psalter miniatures better than most other St.-Denis works carved in relief. Practically all the figures, the trees, the architectural motifs—down to the metal bars that appear on the doors of the walled enclosure and even the isolation of a scene in a circle or under a perforated canopy—can be easily found in the Psalter. See De Wald, *op.cit.*, pls. 8, 89, and *passim*, for figures, trees and buildings. For a large illustration and further discussion of this gem, see O. Dalton, "The Crystal of Lothair," *Archæologia*, IX, 1904, pp. 25f. H. Swarzemeski, *op.cit.*, p. 39, attributes this and other crystal carvings to "Lorraine (?)", c. 865.

EXEMPLA AS A SOURCE OF GOTHIC MARGINAL ILLUMINATION*

LILIAN M. C. RANDALL

I

THE emergence of full-fledged marginal illumination towards the middle of the thirteenth century has generally been ascribed to the effusive spirit of the times, the renewed interest in naturalism, and the Gothic love for anecdotic detail. While these factors unquestionably exerted considerable influence on manuscript illumination, they do not in themselves suffice to explain the increasing frequency in the margins of themes derived from literary sources such as the *Bestiary*¹ and the *Marvels of the East*.²

It is noteworthy that themes of this type appeared virtually contemporaneously in the area where Gothic marginal illumination was most fully developed, in England and the Franco-Flemish provinces of Hainaut, Flanders, and Brabant. It is also apparent that both artists and manuscript owners were familiar with the tales depicted in the margins. While in certain instances the illuminator doubtless derived his ideas from a model book or possibly directly from a text,³ the far-ranging homogeneity of marginal subject matter as well as the rapidity of its expansion may be ascribed in large part to a development in the history of preaching during the first half of the thirteenth century.

This period saw the revitalization of a skill which had reached a particularly low ebb already towards the end of the twelfth century. "The observance of Sunday was almost universally neglected. . . . Sermons had become so rare that when Eustache, Abbot of Flai, preached in various places in England in 1200, miracles were said to have ensued as the ordinary effects of his eloquence."⁴

In France similar conditions prevailed.⁵ While in part this degeneration was the result of depravity within the ranks of the clergy, another factor was that the sermons were unintelligible, and therefore of little interest, to the average laic who did not know Latin.

* The author gratefully acknowledges permission to reproduce photographs of manuscripts in the following collections: Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale; Cambridge (England), Fitzwilliam Museum; Dijon, Bibliothèque Publique; London, British Museum; Malvern, C. W. Dyson Perrins Collection; Munich, Bayerische Nationalbibliothek; Nancy, Bibliothèque Publique; Oxford, Bodleian Library; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.

1. For a historical account of the bestiary, see F. Lauchert, *Geschichte des Physiologus*, Strasbourg, 1889. The bestiary illustrations have been investigated in M. R. James's *The Bestiary*, Oxford, 1928. See also G. Druce, "Medieval Bestiaries and Their Influence on Ecclesiastical Decorative Art," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, December, 1919, pp. 40-82. For an English translation of the text from a twelfth century manuscript (Cambridge, University Library, ms 11.4.26), see T. H. Wright, *The Book of the Beasts*, New York, 1954.

2. See S. Rypins, *Three Old English Prose Texts*, London, 1924, and M. R. James, *De Rebus in Oriente Mirabilibus*, Oxford, 1929. One of the earliest examples of the new developments in marginal iconography is a Psalter destined for Edmund de Laci (d. 1257) in the collection of the Duke of Rutland at Belvoir Castle. See E. Millar, *The Rutland Psalter*, Oxford, 1937.

3. According to Professor H. W. Janson, "The zoological lore of Bestiaries and encyclopedias furnished less material for *drôleries* than one might expect. A good deal of it did not readily lend itself to translation into pictorial terms, and the

designers of grotesques were not inclined to struggle with this problem, since their imagination had always been nourished by visual rather than by literary stimuli. Their acquaintance with the contents of Bestiaries seems to have been limited, for the most part, to the few subjects that had been illustrated before, and even these were utilised only if they could be adapted to the spirit of *drôlerie*." (*Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, London, 1952, pp. 171-172.) While this may be true for simian representations, farcical renderings of bestiary themes are extremely rare in the margins.

4. A. Jessopp, *The Coming of the Friars*, London, 1889, p. 31.

5. See A. Lecoy de la Marche, *La chaire française au moyen age*, Paris, 1868, pp. 26ff. Apparently it was not uncommon for unqualified laics, possibly even jongleurs, to rent themselves out as preachers for a small consideration. See A. Méray, *La vie au temps des trouvères*, Paris, 1873, pp. 258ff.

6. For an account of the early history of the Franciscan movement in England and of the prevailing conditions at the time of the friars' arrival, see the *Liber de adventu minorum in Angliam*, written towards the middle of the thirteenth century by Thomas of Eccleston. (*Monumenta Franciscana*, Rolls Series, no. 4, London, 1, J. S. Brewer, ed., 1858; II, R. Howlett, ed., 1882, pp. 7-28). The work has been translated by Father Cuthbert, *The Friars and How They Came to England*, London, 1903.

In the first quarter of the thirteenth century fundamental changes were wrought in these conditions through the rise of the Mendicant orders.⁶ Preaching in the vernacular, the Franciscans and, to an even greater extent, the Dominicans embellished their sermons with anecdotes, termed *exempla*.⁷ Intended to illustrate the doctrine in terms readily comprehensible to the general public, they were drawn from a host of literary sources as well as from popular tradition and contemporary events. Complying with a fundamental tenet of the founders of the Mendicant orders, the friars held forth at every opportunity—in the street, in the market place, at the tavern, as well as at the church—attracting large crowds by their animated presentation and vast repertoire of entertaining anecdotes (Fig. 1).

While the clergy viewed the rising popularity of the friars with contempt and some anxiety, the attempts to check their rapidly widening sphere of influence proved relatively unsuccessful. Since the activities of the friars were sanctioned by the Pope, the appeals by the regular clergy to curb the friars' rights of hearing confession and preaching were generally ineffective.⁸ The dispute, which was at its height during the last twenty years of the thirteenth century, was gradually settled through the natural course of events as the friars' misconduct began to justify the increasing number of complaints lodged against them.⁹ By the middle of the fourteenth century their effectiveness had waned to such an extent that they no longer presented a threat to the jurisdiction of the regular clergy.¹⁰

Despite the hostility on the part of the clergy, the advent of the friars was greeted enthusiastically by the populace and intellectuals alike. Robert Grosseteste, for instance, a member of the Franciscan order since shortly after its establishment in England in 1224, gave the following report of the friars' activities to Pope Gregory in 1238: ". . . in England inestimable benefits have been produced by the friars, for they illuminate the whole countryside with the light of their preaching and learning . . . with what humility the people run to hear the word of life from them, for confession and instruction in daily life, and how much improvement the clergy and the regulars have obtained from imitating them. . . ."¹¹

Although other contemporary sources such as Matthew Paris present a less glowing picture of the friars,¹² there can be no doubt that their influence pervaded all social spheres within a brief

7. The most comprehensive study of *exempla* is found in J. Mosher, *The Exemplum in the Early Religious and Didactic Literature of England*, New York, 1911.

8. See A. G. Little, "Measures Taken by the Prelates of France Against the Friars (1289-90)," *Miscellanea Francesca Ehrle, scritti di storia e paleografia*, III, 1924, pp. 49-61. A complaint about the preference on the part of the French populace for the brief sermons of the friars at the Council of Lyons in 1274 is mentioned by A. G. Little in *Studies in English Franciscan History*, Historical Series no. XXIX, Manchester, 1917, p. 133.

9. The undesirables who attached themselves to the Mendicant orders merely by assuming their garb gave the friars an increasingly bad reputation. Denounced by Pope Gregory IX in 1238 as forgers (*Falsarii*), the sects which assumed the Franciscan habit without justification were termed *Fraticelli*. See F. W. Bussell, *Religious Thought and Heresy in the Middle Ages*, London, 1918, pp. 774-775.

10. A venomous description of the friars' activities towards the middle of the fourteenth century appears in *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, ascribed to William Langland (born ca. 1323):

There I found preachers of all the four orders,
Who preached to the people for the profit of their bellies,
And glossed the gospel to their own good pleasure;
They coveted their copes, and construed it to their liking.
Many master-brothers may clothe themselves to their fancy,
For their money and their merchandise multiply together.
(H. Wells, ed., London, 1935, pp. 4-5). The last line is a reference to the goods such as pins, knives, and purses, which the friars peddled as they traveled. See J. Jusserand, *English*

Wayfaring Life, London, 1889, p. 304.

11. As quoted in F. S. Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln*, London, 1890, p. 79. The passage marks the culmination of Grosseteste's eulogistic account of the friars' activities and their beneficial influence. "Illuminat enim totam nostram regionem praecolla luce praedicationis et doctrinae. Sua sanctissima conversatio vehementer accedit ad mundi contemptum et sponteam paupertatem, ad humilitatem tenetam etiam in dignitate et potestate, ad praestandam omnimodam obedientiam praelatis et capiti ecclesiae. . . . O si vident vestra sanctitas quam devote et humiliter accurrit populus ut audiat ab illis verbum vitae, ut confiteatur peccata, ut instruatur in regulis vitae agendae, quantumque ex eorum imitacione profecto quod habitantibus in regione umbrae mortis lux orta est eis!" (H. R. Luard, ed., *Robert Grosseteste epistolae*, Rolls Series, no. 25, London, 1861, p. 179, Letter LVIII.)

12. An entry for the year 1243 clearly expresses Matthew Paris's opinion of the friars' aims and influence: "Hi jam sunt qui in sumptuosis et diatim ampliatis aedificiis et celsis muralibus thesauros exponunt impreciosiles, paupertatis limites et basim suae professionis, juxta prophetiam Hyldegardis Alemanniae, impudenter transgredientes. Morituri magnatibus et divitibus, quos norunt pecuniis abundare, diligenter insistunt, non sine ordinarium iniuriis et jacturis, ut emolumentis inhinent, confessiones extorquent et occulta testamenta, se suumque ordinem solum commendantes et omnibus aliis praepontentes. Unde nullus fidelis, nisi Praedicatorum et Minorum regatur consilio, jam credit salvari." (H. R. Luard, ed., *Mattaei Parisiensis chronica majora*, Rolls Series, no. 57, iv, London, 1877, p. 279.)

2 ue fait li mieudres rois qui onques fust



1. A Dominican Preaching. Oxford, Bodleian Lib., Romance of Alexander, Bodley MS 264, fol. 79



2. Monk and Matron in Stocks. London, Brit. Mus., The Decretals of Gregory IX, Royal MS 10 E IV, fol. 187



3. Angel Receiving the Illegitimate Child. London, Brit. Mus., The Luttrell Psalter, Add. MS 42130, fol. 104



4. Fox Luring Birds. London, Brit. Mus., Queen Mary's Psalter, Royal MS 2 B VII, fol. 99v



5. Ape Pursued by Hunter, fol. 20

5-6. Munich, Bayer. Nat., Queen Isabella Psalter, Cod. gall. 16



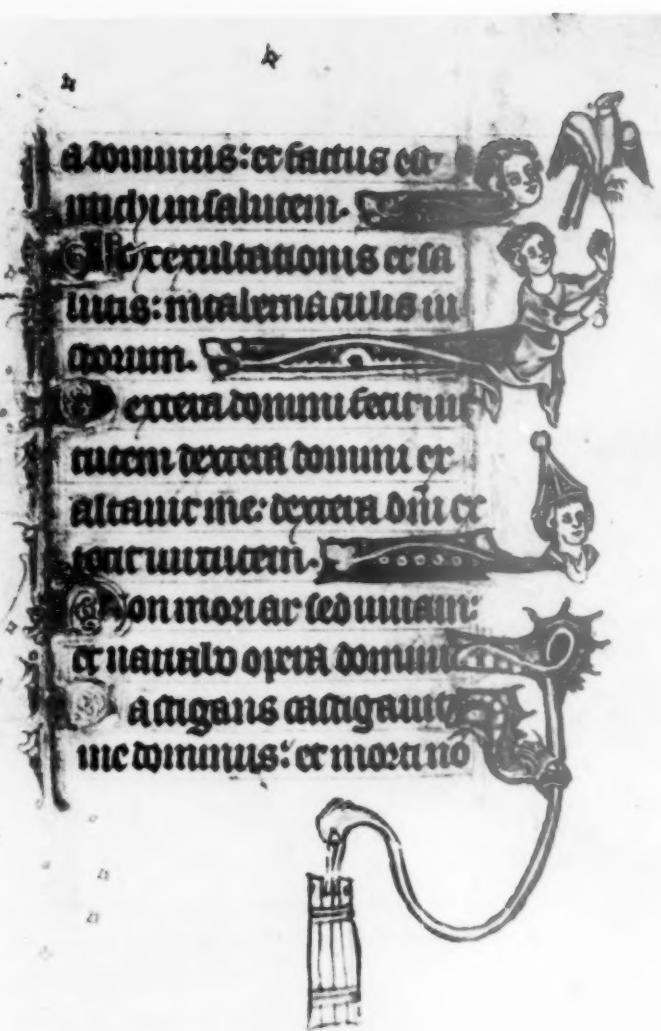
6. Theft of Tiger Cub, fol. 29



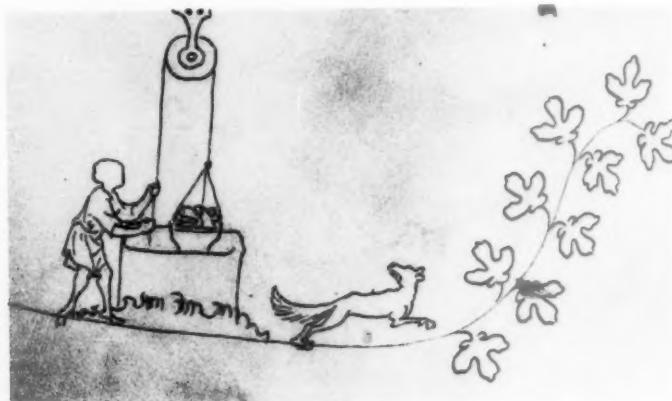
7. Fox Befouling Badger's Den. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Book of Hours, ms lat. 14284, fol. 34v
(photo: Bibl. Nat.)



8. Fable of Fox and Stork. Dijon, Bibl. Mun., Breviary, MS 113, fol. 48



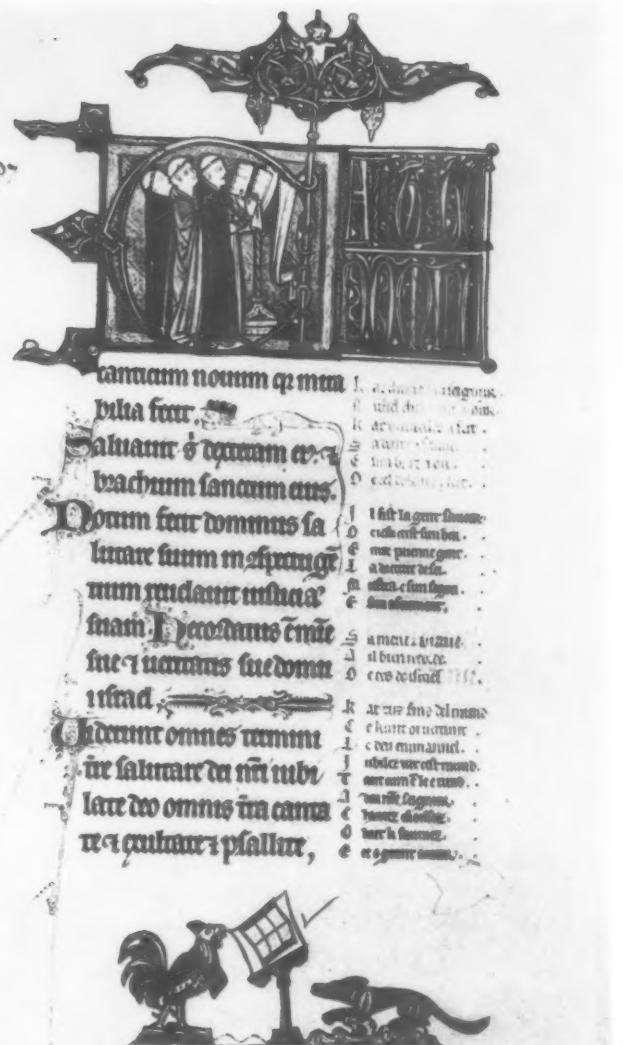
9. Stork-grotesque Feeding from Tall Jar. Oxford, Bod. Lib., Psalter, Douce MS 6, fol. 92



11. Reynard and Ysengrim. Cambridge, Fitz. Mus., The Metz Pontifical, MS 298, fol. 138v



13. Shooting at the Father's Corpse. Nancy, Bibl. Mun., Psalter MS 249, fol. 39



10. Fox Confessing to Chantecler. Malvern, C. W. Dyson Perrins Col., Psalter, MS 11, fol. 146v



12. Phyllis and Aristotle. Arras, Bibl. Mun., Psalter, MS 47, fol. 74



14. Legendary Theme. Oxford, Bodleian Lib., Ormesby Psalter, Douce MS 366, fol. 72

period after the founding of the orders. By 1240 the Franciscans and Dominicans had settled in most of the important North European commercial centers from where they radiated into the surrounding communities.¹³ Land grants and formidable financial and material bequests attest to their popularity among the English and Franco-Flemish nobility and upper bourgeoisie, the classes for whom the majority of manuscripts containing marginalia were illuminated.¹⁴

II

The friars were by no means the originators of the exemplum. The parables of the New Testament and the writings of the Church Fathers served a similar elucidative purpose. It was not until the twelfth century, however, that exempla began to be freely used in didactic and religious tracts. At this time their iconographic scope was expanded to include bestiary and fable themes in addition to the traditional theological and historical subjects.¹⁵

In view of St. Bernard's diatribe against nonreligious monastic ornamentation,¹⁶ it is interesting to note that the Cistercians were among the first to advocate the use of exempla in sermons. Alain de Lille (d. 1202) recommended in his *Summa de Arte Praedicatoria*: "In fine vero, debet uti exemplis, ad probandum quod intendit, quia familiaris est doctrina exemplaris."¹⁷ Through the works of the French preacher Jacques de Vitry (d. ca. 1240)¹⁸ and the English Benedictine Odo of Cheriton (d. 1247),¹⁹ the fundamental structure and scope of exempla was established. All subsequent compilations, from abbreviated handlists to the monumental *Gesta Romanorum*,²⁰ were based in large part on the material incorporated in the exempla of these two men.

The eminent success of preaching with illustrative anecdotes led in the second half of the thirteenth century to the compilation of alphabetic exempla lists arranged according to subject matter in which the more familiar tales were referred to by their opening words alone.²¹ As was the case with the earlier unabridged compendia, the majority of handlists originated in England, northern France, Flanders, and Brabant, the regions previously mentioned as being particularly rich in marginal illumination. Many of the compilers, furthermore, were members of the Mendicant orders.²²

13. For the history of Franciscan and Dominican expansion throughout England, France, and Flanders, see Little, *Studies in English Franciscan History*, pp. 5ff.; R. P. Chapotin, *Histoire des Dominicains de la Province de France*, Rouen, 1898, pp. x ff.; L. Warnkoenig, *Histoire de Flandre jusqu'à l'année 1305*, Brussels, III, 1846, p. 38; IV, 1851, pp. 50ff.; V, 1864, p. 45.

14. See H. Riley, *Memorials of London and London Life (1276-1419 A.D.)*, London, 1868, pp. 111-113, and Chanoine Dehaisnes, *Documents et extraits divers concernant l'histoire de l'art dans la Flandre, l'Artois, et le Hainaut avant le XV^e siècle*, Lille, 1886, pp. 91, 111, 166, 196, 219, 226, 271, 280, 294, 330, 347. The documents referred to contain bequests ranging from "XL s. et I hanap d'argent a piet" by Maroie Blokele of the environs of Douai (p. 219, 1317) to a most handsome bequest by Mahaut, countess of Artois, of two gold crosses to the Preaching friars of St. Omer and other precious metalwork to the sisters of St. Clare in the same town (p. 280, 1329).

15. For a discussion of the derivation of bestiary illustrations from the sermons of Honorius of Autun, see A. Springer, "Über die Quellen der Kunstdarstellungen im Mittelalter," *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königlichen sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft zu Leipzig*, Ph. Hist. cl., xxi, 1879, pp. 24-25. See also Honorius of Autun, *Speculum ecclesiae* (Migne, Patr. lat., CLXXII, cols. 870, 887, etc.); the *Expositio in psalmos selectos* contains further examples derived from the bestiary. (See for instance *ibid.*, cols. 300-301). Analogous anecdotes also played an important role in Alex-

ander Neckam's *De naturis rerum* (T. Wright, ed., London, 1863) and Giraldus Cambrensis's *Gemma ecclesiastica* (J. S. Brewer, ed., London, 1862).

16. *Apologia ad Guillelmum Sancti Theoderici Abbatem*, Ch. xii, ll. 1244ff. (Migne, Patr. lat., CLXXXII, cols. 915-916).

17. Migne, Patr. lat., CCX, col. 114. On the contribution of the Cistercians to exempla iconography, see J.-Th. Welter, *L'exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du moyen âge*, Paris, 1927, pp. 110ff.

18. See T. F. Crane, *The Exempla of Jacques de Vitry*, Folklore Society Publication, XXVI, London, 1890.

19. Odo's life and works have been fully summarized by A. M. Friend, "Odo of Cheriton," *Speculum*, III, 1948, pp. 641-658. See also L. Hervieux, *Les fabulistes latins*, IV, Paris, 1896, pp. 173ff.

20. C. Swan, tr., London, n.d.; see also H. Oesterley, *Gesta Romanorum*, Berlin, 1872.

21. Outstanding examples of alphabetical handlists include the *Liber exemplorum ad usum praedicatorum*, ca. 1275-1279 (A. G. Little, *British Society of Franciscan Studies Series*, I, 1908); the *Speculum laicorum*, compiled in England towards the late thirteenth century (J.-Th. Welter, ed., Paris, 1914).

22. The *Liber exemplorum* mentioned in note 21 is ascribed to an English Franciscan from Warwickshire; an analogous French compendium, the *Tabula exemplorum secundum ordinem alphabeti*, dated ca. 1277 on the basis of allusions to contemporary events at the University of Paris, was also compiled by a Franciscan (Welter, *L'exemplum dans la littérature religieuse*, pp. 295ff.). The *Speculum laicorum*, noted in the

In their fully developed form, from about 1240 on, from one to five moralized exempla were generally recited after the sermon. Where more than one exemplum was used, the sequence does not seem to have been governed by content, although all the tales were related to the sermon through their moralization. Iconographically, the exempla spanned virtually every phase of popular and literary tradition, both religious and secular. Among the sources most commonly quoted, and frequently cited by name, were the Bible, the Church Fathers (particularly the Dialogues of Saint Gregory), and legends from the lives of saints. Facts of natural history were derived primarily from *Physiologus*, Isidore of Seville, and Alexander Neckam. In the realm of fable, the Aesopic versions popularized through mediaeval authors like Marie de France predominated.²³

Other common exempla themes, in which the sources were not cited, included episodes from the *Roman de Renard* and Oriental legends excerpted primarily from *Barlaam and Josaphat* and the *Seven Sages*. While many of the Eastern tales were transmitted to the West through works such as Petrus Alphonsus's *Disciplina clericalis*,²⁴ others were in all likelihood derived from the accounts of crusaders.²⁵ Jacques de Vitry, for instance, relates numerous incidents which occurred in the Holy Land during his sojourn there as bishop of Acre.²⁶ Two consecutive tales tell of a vendor of cooked meat in Acre who expressed great surprise that his customer had lived so long; the following exemplum recounts his capture by the Saracens.²⁷

The contribution of exempla to our knowledge of mediaeval life has been signalized in an illuminating study of the conditions and requirements at the University of Paris in the thirteenth century.²⁸ There are many other aspects, however, which deserve the attention of the historian. Only a few can be mentioned here in passing. One finds, for example, bitter criticism of the clergy and a strong antipathy for the wealthy. Thus, in a sermon addressed to lords and knights, Jacques de Vitry illustrates the extortionist practices of the rich through the fable of the crane who saves the wolf from choking on a bone.²⁹ Another fable, relating of the fox's malicious dinner invitation to the stork, is recited to caution merchants in their business affairs.³⁰ The professional classes are also berated. Odo of Cheriton, among others, tells of the dying bishop who accuses the doctor of having killed his body, the lawyer of having killed his soul.³¹

preceding footnote, is also ascribed to a friar, probably an English Franciscan (Crane, *op.cit.*, p. 395). Étienne De Bourbon, a Dominican, composed his *Tractatus de diversis materiis predicabilibus* shortly after the middle of the thirteenth century (A. Lecoy de la Marche, *Anecdotes historiques, légendes, et apologues*, Paris, 1824). The *Liber de Dono Timoris*, a moral treatise for the use of preachers, ascribed to the Dominican Humbert de Romans (d. 1277) was based largely on Étienne de Bourbon's *Tractatus*. (See J. Herbert, *Catalogue of the Romances in the Department of Manuscripts at the British Museum*, III, London, 1910, pp. 88ff.) The *Alphabetum narrationum*, comprising 802 tales, is attributed to the Dominican Arnold of Liège (d. 1308). See Herbert, *op.cit.*, pp. 423ff. The English Franciscan Nicolas Bozon wrote his *Contes moralisés* shortly before 1320 (The work has been published by L. T. Smith and P. Meyer, Paris, 1889). A Dominican, Robert Holcot (d. 1349), composed the *Moralitates*. Of the 54 anecdotes comprising it 27 reappear in the *Gesta Romanorum* published by Oesterley (see note 20). According to A. G. Little, the *Gesta* were compiled by a German Franciscan (*Studies in English Franciscan History*, p. 133). In the same publication Little mentions a late fifteenth century story-book entitled *Dormi secure*, designed for English Franciscan preachers by its compiler John of Werden, himself a Franciscan from Cologne. A readily accessible résumé of the content of most of the exempla collections listed above is to be found in Herbert, *op.cit.*

23. A. Ewert and R. Johnston, *Marie de France, Fables*, Oxford, 1942; K. Warnke, *Aus dem Esope der Marie de France*, Halle, 1926; H. Oesterley, *Romulus, Die Paraphrasen*

des Phaedrus und die aesopische Fabel im Mittelalter, Berlin, 1870; J. Jacobs, *The Fables of Aesop*, London, 1902.

24. Petrus Alphonsus (1062-1110?) summarizes the content of the *Disciplina clericalis* as follows in the introductory chapter: "Propterea libellum compagi, partim ex proverbis philosophorum, et suis castigationibus arabicis, et fabulis, et versibus, partim ex animalium et volucrum similitudinibus." (J. Labouderie, ed., Paris, 1824, p. 6).

25. See A. Wesselski, *Mönchslstein, Erzählungen aus geistlichen Schriften des XIII. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1909; on the preachers' role in the oral transmission of legends, see T. Wright, *A Selection of Latin Stories From Manuscripts of the 13th and 14th Centuries*, London, Percy Society, VIII, 1842, pp. vi ff.

26. Crane, *op.cit.*, pp. xxviii ff.

27. Herbert, *op.cit.*, p. 14, nos. 100, 101.

28. C. H. Haskins, "The University of Paris in the Sermons of the Thirteenth Century," *American Historical Review*, X, 1905, pp. 1-27.

29. Crane, *op.cit.*, p. 61, no. CXXXVI. See below, note 64.

30. *ibid.*, p. 71, no. CLXV. See below, note 63.

31. Herbert, *op.cit.*, p. 72, no. 142. The exemplum is also contained in the *Speculum laicorum* (*ibid.*, p. 374, no. 20). It is noteworthy that the tale is not appended to Odo of Cheriton's sermon "Contra advocatos." Instead, he recited the fable of the artifices employed by the cat and the fox to escape their pursuers. The cat merely climbs a tree, while the fox, for all his boasting, is apprehended. "Per catum intelligimus simplices, qui nesciunt nisi unicum artificium, scilicet salire in celum. Per Reinardum intelligimus advocatos, causidicos,

The dire consequences of indulging in vice are continually proclaimed to the congregation, occasionally by means of a popular proverb.³² Thus the greedy wife who eats an entire fowl, leaving her husband only the spit, is duly punished when he beats her with it.³³ The greed of the bailiff is compared to that of the bear "secundum Phisiologum."³⁴ Another form of greed displayed by the day-dreaming woman bearing eggs to market conveys the moral: "Don't count your chickens before they are hatched."³⁵ Female vanity is likened to that of the peacock.³⁶ Among the numerous exhortations against dancing is the tale of the belled woman who leads the dance. The sound of the bell reassures the devil that he has not yet lost his "cow."³⁷ In a similar vein the young are instructed to flee the minstrelsy as speedily as the hare scuds at the sound of baying hounds and hunting horns.³⁸

In conjunction with the exempla related to daily life and human folly must be mentioned a very limited group of *monde renversé* themes. Most popular was the story of the knight who preferred to spend the night in an inn where the horses were well cared for while their masters were completely neglected.³⁹

With sufficient research it might indeed be possible to find analogies in the exempla for many more marginal representations, even those which today have no apparent meaning. At present, however, the array of subjects outlined above suffices to show their general nature and scope. It is evident that by the middle of the thirteenth century the majority of meaningful themes current in Gothic marginal illumination had already been excerpted from the sources and incorporated into a coherent scheme. The diffusion of the vast stock of anecdotes through the exempla serves fully to explain the familiarity of illuminators and patrons with the extensive range of popular themes. It was inevitable that the precedent established by secular, and often obscene, narratives introduced under the cloak of moralization at the end of the sermon paved the way for the representation of analogous subjects in the margins of manuscripts, regardless of whether they were designed for private or liturgical use. Through the exempla, tales of all types had openly been circulated within the precinct of the church for at least half a century.

III

Aside from the iconographic parallels which may be drawn between exempla and marginalia, further similarities exist in their form and function. As the exempla were appended to the sermon, their artistic counterpart was placed in a marginal position around the text. In both media the principal purpose was to divert and, to varying degrees, to focus attention on the main discourse.

fraudentos, qui habent XVII fraudes, insuper saccum plenum . . ." (Hervieux, *op.cit.*, pp. 212-213, no. XXXIX).

32. Herbert (*op.cit.*, p. 39, no. 20) reprints the proverb moralizing the tale of the wolf, Ysengrim, at school. Instead of reciting the Paternoster he can not refrain from ogling the sheep and repeating "Agnus" or "Aries." A moralized proverb is also appended to Jacques de Vitry's Sermon 68, addressed to married couples. It demonstrates the popular belief that he who receives the kiss of peace from a "priestess" (i.e. a concubine) does not benefit from the mass:

"Je vos convie sorriz et raz,
Que vos n'aies part en ce tas,
Ne plus que n'a part en la messe,
Cil qui prent puis a la presteresse."

(Crane, *op.cit.*, p. 101, no. CCXLII; see also Herbert, *op.cit.*, p. 20, no. 162; Lecoy de la Marche, *Anecdotes historiques*, p. 391, n. 1.) A thirteenth century manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale attests to the widespread popularity of proverbs among preachers (MS lat. 14955). It contains proverbs, arranged in alphabetical order "utilia ad praedicandum." (J. Morawski, *Proverbes français antérieurs au XVe siècle*, Paris, 1925, p. v.)

33. Herbert (*op.cit.*, p. 377, no. 63) lists this tale in Add.

MS 11284 of the *Speculum laicorum*. The story is also contained in T. Wright, *op.cit.*, p. 35, no. 32 (*De uxore gulosa*).

34. Herbert, *op.cit.*, p. 378, no. 72.

35. The moral reads: "et sicut prius pauper fuerat, ita postea pauperior fuit. Multi enim multa proponunt et nihil faciunt" (Crane, *op.cit.*, p. 20, no. LI.)

36. "Hujus modi mulieres assimilantur pavoni qui turpes habet pedes, pulchras pennas, cum laudatur superbit et caudam attolit, passum latronis, sordes in pedibus ejus, dum libenter peccarent, si auderent, pudore seculi, vel quia timent ne concipiant vel forte non inveniunt qui requirat . . ." (*ibid.*, p. 114, no. CCLXXXIII ter).

37. "Quando autem homo non vult amittere vacam suam ligat ad collum ejus campanulam ut auditio sono securus sit de illa. Sicut vacca que alias precedit in collo campanam gerit, sic mulier que prima cantat coream dicit quasi campanam dyaboli ad collum habet ligatam. Quando autem dyabolus sonum audit securus redditur dicens: Nondum vaccam meam amisi." (*ibid.*, p. 131, no. CCCXIV.)

38. Smith and Meyer, *op.cit.*, pp. 160ff., no. 133.

39. Herbert, *op.cit.*, p. 100, no. 5, from the *Liber de Dono Timoris*, Sloane MS 3102. See also Lecoy de la Marche, *Anecdotes historiques*, pp. 17-18.

While the connection between the exempla and the sermon was always clearly apparent, however, the relation of the marginal illustrations to the adjoining text can in most instances only be surmised. For despite the temptation to attribute symbolic significance to the host of fantastic creatures which populate the margins, a theory which might even be substantiated by contemporary sources,⁴⁰ it is clear that a large proportion are figments of the artists' imagination.

Nevertheless, some of the marginalia which today fall into the category of pure *drôlerie* or *grotesquerie* in all likelihood conveyed a specific meaning, possibly illustrative of the accompanying text, to the original owner or the illuminator of the manuscript. This is most certainly the case in a late thirteenth century north French Psalter and Hours in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Latin ms 10435) where over thirty-five couples are depicted in the margins in various stages of courtship.⁴¹ The names inscribed beneath twenty-five of these representations identify the personages as members of the nobility of the Franco-Flemish provinces. Without the inscriptions, the drawings would have to be regarded as general illustrations of loving couples which abound in the margins of manuscripts at that time.⁴²

The increase of anecdotes based on actual observation, mentioned above as characteristic of exempla after the middle of the thirteenth century, can also be observed in the margins. The curtailment of exempla tales in the handlists of this period also finds a parallel in the radically abridged marginal representations of obviously familiar themes.⁴³

Although less prevalent than in the exempla, religious themes appear in considerable number in the margins. Among the subjects encountered particularly frequently were scenes from the Bible, especially from the New Testament, which were illustrated for the most part in Psalters, Breviaries, and Books of Hours rather than in the Bible itself. In this connection it must be noted that English marginal illuminators showed a far greater preference for cyclical illumination, both in religious and secular subjects, than their *confrères* on the continent. As outstanding examples of Biblical marginal illustrations may be cited two early fourteenth century manuscripts, the Tickhill Psalter (New York Public Library, Spencer Collection, ms 26)⁴⁴ and the Belleville Breviary (Bibliothèque Nationale, ms lat. 10483-84).⁴⁵

As in the exempla, subjects from the lives of saints were extremely prevalent in the margins. The miracles of the Virgin proved a particularly rich source of inspiration. Represented in single episodes or in cyclical form, they constituted an important iconographic group in the margins of some of the most outstanding examples of English illumination of the first half of the fourteenth century.⁴⁶ No less than thirty-six are depicted in the margins of the Queen Mary Psalter (British Museum, Royal ms 2 B vii, fols. 204v-232).⁴⁷ Included is the tale frequently encountered in the

40. Roger Bacon, for example, states in his *Opus maius*: "omnis creatura in se vel in suo simili, vel in universali vel in particulari, a summis coelorum usque ad terminos eorum ponitur in scriptura, ut sicut Deus fecit creaturas & scripturam, sic voluit ipsas res factas ponere in scriptura ad intellectum ipsius tam sensus literalis quam spiritualis." (S. Jebb, ed., London, 1733, p. 29.)

41. Leroquais, *Les psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Paris, 1940-1941, II, pp. 95-98. See also L. Maeterlinck, *Le genre satirique dans la peinture flamande*, Ghent, 1903, p. 37.

42. In all, eighty-two representations of this theme have been listed in the select index of subject matter compiled for my dissertation on Gothic marginal illustrations (Radcliffe, 1955).

43. See Fig. 9.

44. D. D. Egbert, *The Tickhill Psalter*, New York, 1940.

45. Leroquais, *Les breviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Paris, 1939, III, pp. 198ff. For other noteworthy Biblical cycles, see Egbert, *A Sister to the Tickhill Psalter—The Psalter of Queen Isabella of England*, New York, 1935; British Museum, Royal ms 10 E iv ("The Smith-

field Decretals"), fols. 6-38; and Yates Thompson ms 13 ("The Taymouth Hours"), fols. 17v-53, 88v-103v, 110v-136 (W. H. Weale et al., *A Descriptive Catalogue of Fifty Manuscripts From the Collection of Henry Yates Thompson*, Second Series, Cambridge, 1902, pp. 50-74).

46. Nineteen miracles are depicted in the margins of the Taymouth Hours, fols. 151v-179 (see above, n. 45); seventeen occur in the Carew Poyntz Hours (Fitzwilliam Museum, ms 48, fols. 152v-188v; M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, Cambridge, 1895, pp. 100-120, pl. vii). Fifteen miracles are represented in the margins of Royal ms 10 E iv (referred to in n. 45), fols. 161-172v, 265v-268.

47. Sir G. Warner, *Queen Mary's Psalter*, London, 1912, pls. 219-238. Since the cycle shown here follows no known sequence, the author suggests (p. 43) that the illuminator painted the scenes from memory. The lack of inscriptions (contrasting to the labels accompanying the Old Testament scenes) indicates further that the miracles were "possibly too familiar at the time to need any." Possibly this familiarity had been gained through the exempla.

exempla of the monk-treasurer and the pious matron.⁴⁸ Induced by two demons to rob the treasury and elope, the culprits are apprehended and put in stocks (Fig. 2). In response to their prayers, the Virgin chains two demons in their stead, thereby effacing the couple's guilt. Another popular theme was the Virgin's rescue of a pregnant abbess accused of unchastity by her sister nuns. Moved by the abbess's pious entreaties, the Virgin arranges for the secret delivery of the child and for its conveyance by an angel to a hermit (Fig. 3).⁴⁹

Another group of marginal subjects, incorporating theological interpretation with supposed facts of natural history, comprises bestiary themes of which a certain few were repeatedly illustrated in the margins.⁵⁰ All of these tales were recited in the exempla. Included among them was the account of the fox who shams death in order to attract birds within reach of his jaws (Fig. 4).⁵¹ In his adaptation of the story, entitled *Contra divite(s) affligentes pauperes . . .*, Odo of Cheriton identifies the fox with the devil who similarly entices men to succumb to his temptations.⁵² Another popular tale depicted the plight of the ape-mother who, when pursued by hunters, is forced to drop her favorite child from her arms, while her second child, whom she detests, clings to her back (Fig. 5).⁵³ The moral drawn by Jacques de Vitry reads: "In the same way the impious who now embrace pleasures and riches as they choose have their sins on their back, and not wishing to look back on them and confess them, they relinquish the pleasures they now embrace and . . . are caught by the hunters and led off to hell."⁵⁴

Also moralized by Jacques de Vitry is the account of the tiger whose cub is stolen by a hunter. To effect his escape the man throws down a mirror, whose reflection temporarily deludes the irate beast (Fig. 6). "Thus the hunter of hell, having thrown in the path the image of temporal things, detains many prelates through curiosity and delays through transitory vanity. . . ."⁵⁵

Occasionally an obscure marginal illumination is elucidated through an exemplum, as for instance in the representation of a fox befouling another animal's den (Fig. 7). Jacques de

48. Jacques de Vitry expounded as follows: "Ecce quantum infamiam et scandalum atque inestimabile dampnum dyabolus contra religiosas personas procurasset, nisi Beata Virgo succurisset." (Crane, *op.cit.*, p. 119, no. CCLXXXII.) The scandal created by the couple's elopement was considered more serious than the sin itself: "Tantem autem fuit scandalum per totam regionem et ita omnes infamabant religiosas personas quod longe majus dampnum fuit, de infamia et scandalo quam de ipsorum peccato." (*ibid.*, p. 118.)

49. Warner, *op.cit.*, pl. 221c-d; Yates Thompson MS 13, fols. 156-158 and Add. MS 42130, fol. 104 are further illustrations of this theme (E. Millar, *The Luttrell Psalter*, London, 1932, pl. 38B).

50. See above, n. 1. Commenting on the absence of identifying inscriptions in the bestiary scenes of the Queen Mary Psalter, Warner (*op.cit.*, p. 34) concludes that the artist, who worked from a model-book or from imagination, "presumably supposed that the subjects would be easily recognized," once more a possible indication of the influence of exempla (see above, n. 47).

51. *ibid.*, pl. 156a-b; Yates Thompson MS 8, fol. 173v (M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Fifty Manuscripts From the Collection of Henry Yates Thompson*, First Series, Cambridge, 1898, pp. 142ff.); Munich, Bayerische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. gall. 16, fol. 13 (Egbert, *A Sister to the Tickhill Psalter*, p. 27).

52. "Vulpes, quando esurit, fingit se mortuam, et iacet in plano et linguam eicit. Venit Corvus vel Miluus credens predam invenire; venit ut capiat linguam, et capit a Vulpes et devoratur.

"Sic Diabolus fingit se mortuum, quod nec auditur nec videtur, et eicit linguam suam, hoc est omne illicitum delectabile et concupiscibile, scilicet pulchra mulier cibus delicatus, vinum sapidum et huius modi, que cum illicite capit homo, capit a Diabolo." (Hervieux, *op.cit.*, p. 220, no. XLIX). Jacques de Vitry compares the fox's motives to those of hypo-

crites and heretics (Crane, *op.cit.*, p. 127, no. CCCIV; see p. 267 for further references).

53. Marginal representations of the scene appear, for instance, in the Psalter of Edmund de Laci, fol. 88 (Millar in *The Rutland Psalter*, illustrates the folio); British Museum, Royal MS 2 B VII, fols. 107v-108 (Warner, *op.cit.*, pl. 160); and Munich, Bayerische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. gall. 16, fol. 20 (Egbert, *A Sister to the Tickhill Psalter*, p. 27).

54. "Pari modo predicti reprobri, qui nunc delicias et divitias quas diligunt amplectuntur, peccata post dossum habentes et illa respicere vel confiteri nolentes, delicias quas nunc amplectantur dereliquerunt, peccatis que post dorsum posuerant aggravantibus ut a venatoribus capiantur et in infernum deducantur." (Crane, *op.cit.*, p. 9, no. XXV). For other references to the tale, see Herbert, *op.cit.*, pp. 84 (no. 41), 417 (no. 33), 437 (no. 86), 499 (no. 264), 556 (no. 201). Avianus includes the tale in his fables. See H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of the Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, II, London, 1893, pp. 274, 340.

55. "Sic venator infernalis multos prelatos, objecta imagine rerum temporalium, curiositate detinet et transitoria vanitate detardat ut non discurrant et festinent." (Crane, *op.cit.*, p. 3, no. VII). The moralized account of the tale is also included among 315 anecdotes preserved in Royal MS 7 D 1 dating from the thirteenth century, which is ascribed to a Dominican residing in the vicinity of Cambridge (Herbert, *op.cit.*, p. 484, no. 67). Representations of the subject appear in a two-volume early fourteenth century breviary for Cambrai use (Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 102, fol. 282; MS 103, fol. 499; Leroquais, *Les bréviaires*, I, pp. 194ff.); also Munich, Bayerische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. gall. 16 (Egbert, *A Sister to the Tickhill Psalter*, p. 27); Royal MS 2 B VII, fols. 122v-123 (Warner, *op.cit.*, pl. 169a); Add. MS 42130, fol. 84v, an abbreviated version representing only the tiger looking into the mirror (Millar, *The Luttrell Psalter*, pl. 27B).

Vitry records that according to Alexander Neckam the badger is a very clean animal that builds its lair with utmost difficulty in a rock. It cannot abide any foul odor. Aware of this fact, the fox befouls the badger's dwelling, thus forcing him to abandon it. The fox, thereupon, makes himself at home. "So is it with God and the devil in the human heart. . . . For God created our souls and worked much to redeem them; after the devil came into our house, however, God who cannot endure his foul odor, leaves and abandons the house to the devil."⁵⁶

Symbolic themes derived from other than Bestiary tales include the ape holding a round fruit.⁵⁷ To the interpretations proposed by Professor Janson in his study of *Apes and Ape Lore*⁵⁸ may be added the comparison encountered innumerable times in the exempla between the ape who discards the nut on account of its bitter rind and the sinner who relapses because he finds penance too burdensome.⁵⁹ It is noteworthy also that the mere hearers of the Word are compared to the music-loving ass which tramples on the harp.⁶⁰ The analogy between the impulsive turn of Fortune's wheel and the relentless course of human life is also included in the exempla.⁶¹

Among the fables, fewer appeared in the margins than in the exempla. The fable most frequently represented, possibly on account of the connotation acquired through the exempla,⁶² was that of the fox's dinner invitation and the stork's retaliation in kind.⁶³ This apologue was illustrated in various forms, ranging from complete renderings of the story to a most fragmentary abstraction of the same (Figs. 8, 9). The treatment of this well-known fable is indicative of the curtailment and distortion which were doubtlessly applied to other themes whose original source is less easily identifiable. Other apogees found in the margins include the fable of the wolf and the crane and the tale of the fox, the raven, and the cheese.⁶⁴

56. The exemplum is appended to Sermon 73, addressed to boys and youths. (See Crane, *op.cit.*, p. 123, no. CCXCII and Herbert, *op.cit.*, p. 25, no. 214.) For Alexander Neckam's account of the badger's characteristics, see Ch. CXXVII of his *De naturis rerum*, published by T. Wright, Rolls Series, 1863.

57. Representations appear, for example, in the following manuscripts: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, ms 5163-64, fol. 24v (C. Gaspar and F. Lyne, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, Paris, 1937, I, pp. 196ff.); Brussels, Bib. Roy., ms 9391, fol. 92, 125v (*ibid.*, pp. 236ff.); the Psalter of Edmund de Laci, fol. 12 (Millar, *The Rutland Psalter*, illustration of fol. 12). For other representations of the motif, see Janson, *op.cit.*, p. 110.

58. Professor Janson suggests as one interpretation that the object held by the ape is an apple, symbol of the Fall of Man (see *Apes and Ape Lore*, pp. 108ff.).

59. "Et de symia dicitur quod nuceum abicit, dum exterius in cortice amaritudinem sentit, usque ad nuclei dulcedinem non pervenit. Ita stulti in hoc seculo, dum attendunt exterius amaritudinem laborum, numquam pervenient ad dulcedinem premiorum, juxta illud: Qui viderunt me foras fugerunt a me. Difficilis autem est ut Ethiops millet pelleam suam . . ." (Crane, *op.cit.*, p. 58, no. CXXVII). See also Herbert, *op.cit.*, pp. 182 (no. 49), 377 (no. 60); Hervieux, *op.cit.*, II, p. 627.

60. Herbert, *op.cit.*, p. 683 (no. 26). On the symbolism of the motif, see H. Adolf, "The Ass and the Harp," *Speculum*, XXV, Jan., 1950, pp. 49-57.

61. Herbert, *op.cit.*, p. 179, no. 157; no. 155 on the same page also pertains to the Wheel of Fortune. Marginal illustrations of the theme occur, for instance, in a late thirteenth century Psalter for Arras use in the Pierpont Morgan Library (M 730, fol. 20v; C. R. Morey, *The Pierpont Morgan Library Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts*, New York, 1933-1934, p. 30) and also in a Missal for use at St.-Jean in Amiens, dated 1323 (The Hague, Royal Library, ms 78 D 40, fol. 33; A. Byvanck, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque des Pays-Bas et du Musée Meermanno-Westreenianum*, Paris, 1924, pp. 19-22, pls. VII-VIII).

62. See above, p. 100.

63. "Dicitur quod vulpes invitavit ciconiam ut secum

manducaret et liquidas sorbiunculas preparavit quas ciconia rostro capere non potuit, et ita vulpes illudens ciconie totum comedit. Ciconia vero illudere volens illusorem vulpem ad prandium invitavit et posuit cibum in vase unum modicum et strictum foramen in superiori parte habente cumque ciconia rostro infixo cibum caperet vulpes intrinsecus ad cibum pertingere non potuit, et totum ciconia manducavit. Dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirat? Fidem non servant fides non est servanda. Probande igitur sunt spiritus hec credendum est omni spiritui." (Crane, *op.cit.*, p. 71, no. CLXV, appended to Sermon 57 delivered to merchants). Illustrations of the fable appear in the Psalter of Edmund de Laci, fol. 34 (reproduced by Millar, *The Rutland Psalter*); Bodleian Library, Douce ms 5, fol. 35; Douce ms 6, fol. 92 (C. Nordenfalk, *Gylde Bøger; Illuminerte middelalderlige Handskriften i Danmark og Sverige*, Exhibition Catalogue, Copenhagen, April 5-May 4, 1952, pp. 150-151); Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, ms 45, fol. 104, 147; ms 85, fol. 50v, 52; ms 90, fol. 129v (parody); ms 104, fol. 82, 210v. The first three manuscripts listed here were included in the exhibition, *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, Baltimore, 1949. See the exhibition catalogue, pp. 21, 23.

64. Illustrations of the fable of the wolf and crane are found in a late thirteenth century Psalter of northern France in the Bibliothèque Nationale (ms lat. 10435, fol. 140; see above, n. 41) and in a slightly later Book of Hours for a lady from the diocese of Thérouanne (Marseille, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms 111, fol. 137v; J. Billiou, *Trésors des bibliothèques de France*, V, Paris, 1935, pp. 165-185). Jacques de Vitry's moralization reads: "Quam miseri et ingrati divites, qui vivunt labore pauperum et multa beneficia ab eis recipiunt et nichil nisi malum pro bono eis retribuunt, similes lupo qui fere usque ad mortem cruciabatur os in gutture ejus affixum, et cepit rogare quem ut rostrum in os ejus mitteret et os de gutture extraheret, multaque illi promisit si ipsi in periculo subventi. Gruis vero immittens rostrum cum magno labore os a gutture lupi extraxit. Cumque mercedem peteret, lupus ait: 'Sufficiat tibi quod te permisi abire, cum potuissim tibi collum abscidisse, quando illud in ore meo posuisti; satis est quod vitam tibi reservavi illud ut liceat paucis cum dentibus

A final source from the animal kingdom was the *Roman de Renard*, several episodes of which were moralized in the exempla. Odo of Cheriton adapts the tale of the fox's confession, performed solely for the purpose of devouring his confessor the cock, to illustrate his sermon *Contra gulosos* (Fig. 10): "Thus are most underling monks, oh laics, who feign to be weak and feeble, for they continually have in mind to devour the chaplain and his majors."⁶⁵ According to Jacques de Vitry, moreover, those who like the fox confess and immediately revert to their sins make what is known in France as a "confessio Reynardi."⁶⁶ While there are relatively few representations of the fox's confession, the scene illustrated in Fig. 10 is of particular interest in its placement in the margin of the opening page to Psalm 97, "Cantate Domino." There can be little doubt concerning the satirical implication of the marginal scene which mocks the singing monks depicted in the Psalm initial.⁶⁷

Another episode contained in the *Roman de Renard*, concerning the fox's repeated attempts to rid himself of his alleged friend the wolf, Ysengrim, is depicted in the margins of the *Metz Pontifical* (Fitzwilliam Museum, ms 298, fol. 138v; Fig. 11).⁶⁸ The wolf, naïvely believing the fox's promise of immense riches to be found in the bottom of a well, descends in a bucket at the very moment when a group of men, intent on punishing the fox for one of his crimes, arrives on the scene. Attributing the misdemeanor to the wolf, the men beat him mercilessly while Reynard escapes unharmed. Odo of Cheriton moralizes that the fox is the devil who induces men to descend into the well of sin through promises of rare delicacies and immense wealth. Fools who agree to do so are beaten and killed.⁶⁹

In another exemplum Odo illustrates the hypocrisy of those who generally participate in funeral processions in his description of the wolf's funeral: ". . . after the death of some rich thief or usurer the abbot or the prior calls together beasts, i.e. humans. For it is usually the case that in a large assembly of black and white there are no others but beasts—lions through pride, foxes through fraudulence, bears through voracity. . . ."⁷⁰ From the above account it is apparent that many of the animals represented in the margins personify human weaknesses whose import had been clarified through the exempla.⁷¹

Since the majority of marginal scenes of daily life, including social satire, were generally based on direct observation rather than exempla themes, the final iconographic group to be considered

in ore meo posuisti." (Crane, *op.cit.*, p. 61, no. CXXXVI.) For an interesting example of the intermingling of fables and beast epos, see the discussion following the fable of the fox, the raven, and the cheese in Herbert, *op.cit.*, p. 5, no. 16. Illustrations of the fable appear in ms 10607 of the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels, fol. 88 (Gaspar and Lyra, *op.cit.*, 1, pp. 219ff.), ms 88 of the Walters Art Gallery, fol. 112; and ms 298 of the Fitzwilliam Museum, fol. 87 (Dewick, *op.cit.*, pl. 78).

65. "Vulpes semel fuit in gallinario. Supervenerunt homines cum baculis et mi(s)erabiliter fustigaverunt Vulpem, quod vix per foramen evasit. Recessit ut potuit, et super cumulum feni se proiecit et gemere incepit. Petiit Capellatum quod ad eum veniret et peccata sua audiret. Venit igitur Chantecler, scilicet Gallus, qui est Capellanus bestiarum. Aliquantulum timens mores Reinardi, a longe sedit. Reinardus peccata sua confitebatur, et inter cetera rostrum suum apposuit versus capellatum. Et ait capellanus: Quare appropinquas mihi? Et ait Reinardus: Infirmitas magna me compellit hoc facere; parcatis mihi. Iterum dixit alia peccata, et, ore aperto, posuit caput versus gallum et cepit eum et devoravit.

"Tales sunt plerique monachi subditi, layci, qui fingunt se infirmos et debilos; semper tamen habent mentem ut capellanos et maiores suos devorent." (Hervieux, *op.cit.*, p. 198, no. XXV). That the theme enjoyed great popularity already in early mediaeval times is evidenced by the poem *Gallus et Vulpes*, originating in the region of the Meuse or the Moselle in the tenth or the eleventh century. See L. Hermann, "Gallus

et Vulpes," *Scriptorium*, 1, 1946-1947, pp. 260-266.

66. "Quidam autem sicut Absalon semel in anno tonduntur, quia tamen semel peccata confituntur, sed statim capilli crescere incipiunt, quia statim ad peccata redeunt, et ita sacerdotibus illudunt. Hec est confessio vulpis, que solet in Francia appellari confessio renardi . . ." (Crane, *op.cit.*, p. 125, no. CCXCVII, appended to Sermon 74 addressed to boys and youths). See also Herbert, *op.cit.*, p. 13, no. 82.

67. Sir G. Warner, *Descriptive Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts in the Library of C. W. Dyson Perrins*, 1, Oxford, 1920, pp. 40-47, pls. XI-XV.

68. Dewick, *op.cit.*, p. XXXII, pl. 100.

69. "Vulpecula significat Diabolum qui dicit homini: Descende ad me in puteum peccati et (in)venie(n)s delicias et multa bona. Stultus adquiescit et descendit in puteum culpe, et ibi nullam invenit refectionem. Tandem veniunt inimici et extrahunt impium, percunt et perimunt. Diabolus multa bona Ade promisit; sed multa mala persoluit." (Hervieux, *op.cit.*, pp. 192-193, no. XIX.) See also Herbert, *op.cit.*, p. 39, no. 16; Wright, *Selection of Latin Stories*, p. 57.

70. "Leones per superbiam, vulpes per fraudulenciam, ursi per voracitatem, hyrci fetentes per luxuria(m), asini per segniciem, herici per asperitatem, lepores per metum . . . quod trepidaverunt ubi non erat timor . . ." (Hervieux, *op.cit.*, p. 216, no. XLIII).

71. Etienne de Bourbon compares sinners to beasts in human garb as in the "processione Reynardi." (Herbert, *op.cit.*, p. 85, no. 26; not in Lecoy de la Marche, *Anecdotes historiques*.)

here comprises popular legends, many of them of Oriental origin. Included among them is the tale of Phyllis' seduction of Aristotle, designed to prove to him the futility of his admonitions to his young pupil Alexander (Fig. 12).⁷² Another legend, encountered but rarely in the exempla and marginalia, is based on the trial imposed on three young men, claimants to their murdered father's estate. Commanded by the king to shoot at the corpse, the youngest proves his innocence by his refusal to comply (Fig. 13).⁷³ The symbolism of this scene has been fully discussed by Wolfgang Stechow in THE ART BULLETIN.⁷⁴

Among the limited number of Romance subjects which appear in thirteenth century exempla is the story of Guy of Warwick who, accompanied by his faithful lion, performs marvelous feats for his lady, Phyllis.⁷⁵ A final legend of exceptional interest relates the conditions imposed by a king on his bride-to-be. She must come to him neither driving, walking, nor riding, neither out of the road nor in the road, neither clothed nor naked, and bringing a gift that was no gift.⁷⁶ The earliest extant representation of the tale is found in a marginal illustration of the Ormesby Psalter in the section dating from the last decade of the thirteenth century (Bodleian Library, Douce ms 366; Fig. 14).⁷⁷ Despite the fact that the figure approaching the king is apparently a male, other details of the scene indicate that the illustration is based on the above legend. The figure, with one foot touching the ground, is astride a ram; he is nude save for a cape and one shoe; in his arms he bears a hare which is a gift and yet no gift since the animal would run away as soon as it was put down before the king. On the basis of an initial to Psalm 52 in the Douai Psalter, which depicts Marcolf, the typical mediaeval fool, in a net on two crutches and wearing torn shoes before Solomon, it has been suggested that the king in the Ormesby Psalter marginal scene represents Solomon, while the figure on the ram may be identified with Marcolf.⁷⁸ In view of the opening words of Psalm 52, which appear immediately above the marginal illustration—"Dixit insipiens in corde suo non est deus"—the scene may very possibly have a dual connotation based both on the legend and on the religious text.

72. For full bibliographical references, see Herbert, *op.cit.*, p. 87, no. 33. The theme was popularized also through the thirteenth century *Lai d'Aristote* of Henri d'Andeli:

"La damoisele fait monter
De sor son dos et si le porte" (vv. 519-520).

The *Lai* has been published by A. Héron from an illuminated thirteenth century manuscript in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms 3516 (Rouen, 1901). Two other marginal representations of the theme, besides Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms 47, fol. 74 illustrated in Fig. 14, are found in a late thirteenth century *Speculum Beatae Mariae Virginis* formerly in the Chester Beatty Collection (E. Millar, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Library of A. Chester Beatty*, Oxford, 1932, II, p. 87) and Yates Thompson ms 8, fol. 187 (James, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 159).

73. A variant of the legend, in which the three sons are commanded to prove their swordsmanship on the corpse, is found among Odo of Cheriton's tales preserved in Arundel ms 231 of the early fourteenth century (Herbert, *op.cit.*, p. 66, no. 76). The more common version of the archers is contained in Etienne de Bourbon's *Tractatus* (Lecoy de la Marche, *Anecdotes historiques*, p. 136, no. 160) and the *Gesta Romanorum* (Swan, *op.cit.*, p. 215, no. LXXXIX).

74. "Shooting at the Father's Corpse," ART BULLETIN, XXIV, 1942, pp. 213-225.

75. Included in an English fourteenth century collection of moralized tales (Harley ms 7322) is the account that the story of Guy of Warwick, when read aloud in Holy Week, made a listener weep although the Passion recounted earlier had failed to move him (Herbert, *op.cit.*, p. 171, no. 49; Swan, *op.cit.*, pp. 172-173, no. LXIV). The tale also occurs in the *Gesta Romanorum* (Swan, *op.cit.*, pp. 170ff., no. LXIII). For

a full account, see J. Ashton, *Romances of Chivalry*, London, 1887, pp. 273-301 and Ward, *op.cit.*, I, pp. 471ff. Marginal representations of the subject appear, for instance, in Royal ms 10 E iv, fol. 75-79v and Yates Thompson ms 13, fol. 14v-18 (Weale, *op.cit.*, p. 57).

76. The legend exists in various forms. In the *Gesta Romanorum*, for instance, a similar narrative requires a knight to bring to court his best friend, his favorite jester, and his worst enemy. He comes half riding, half walking, accompanied by his dog, his little son, and his wife (Herbert, *op.cit.*, p. 245, no. 31, from a fifteenth century manuscript, Egerton ms 2258). Alexander Neckham includes the latter part of the tale in his *De naturis rerum*, lib. II, ch. 157 (T. Wright, ed., Rolls Series, 1863, p. 255). Other variants of the legend have been published by D. S. MacColl, "Grania in Church, or the Clever Daughter," *Burlington Magazine*, VIII, Nov., 1905, pp. 80-86.

77. For sculptural representations of the theme, all dating from the second half of the fourteenth century, see A. Gardner, *Medieval Sculpture in France*, Cambridge, 1931, 361, fig. 366; F. Bond, *Wood Carvings in English Churches*, I, pp. 182-184; MacColl, *op.cit.*, p. 80. The corbel representation from Auxerre Cathedral illustrated by Gardner may possibly reflect the influence of the English, who occupied Auxerre from 1358 to 1370. Both the extant English illustrations of the scene, which occur on misericords in the cathedrals of Norwich and Worcester, date from the last decade of the fourteenth century.

78. S. C. Cockerell, *Two East Anglian Psalters at the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, 1926, p. 18. The Douai Psalter, formerly ms 171 in the Bibliothèque Municipale at Douai, was destroyed in 1916.

There can remain little doubt concerning the iconographic analogies between exempla and Gothic marginal illustrations. The prolific use of exempla, particularly by the preaching friars, after the first quarter of the thirteenth century, served to disseminate far and wide facts and legends which had heretofore been known to only a select few who had access to books. Since these themes began to appear in increasing numbers in the margins of manuscripts after the middle of the thirteenth century, the exempla must certainly be considered as one of the primary motivating factors for the emergence of Gothic marginal illumination.

ENGLEWOOD, N.J.

THE LISBON TEMPTATION OF ST. ANTHONY

BY JEROME BOSCH

CHARLES D. CUTTLER

Tu lux astrorum, tu decus astrigerum," sang mediaeval monks in praise of monasticism's legendary founder, St. Anthony Abbot: "Anachoreta potens, pastor, patriarcha, magister.

... In adoration and reverence the laity was equally fervent when at the close of the mediaeval period St. Anthony achieved his apogee in art, literature, and the popular mind. His famous temptations struck the imagination, and appealed particularly to Jerome Bosch.¹ However, the striking originality of Bosch's several versions of the temptation theme, with their visionary and even realistic portrayal of the world, can be understood only in terms of his era. It was a time of pestilence and turbulence, of economic, social, and religious unrest; an age which believed in chiliasm, Antichrist, apocalyptic visions; in witchcraft, alchemy, and astrology. On the other hand it was an age of rational investigation and humanistic approach. It was also a period of extreme pessimism, the natural outcome of a belief in demons fostered by the Church itself—it was Thomas Aquinas who had said that all that happens visibly in this world can be done by demons.² With the world so under the control of the Devil, what chance then had the average man of achieving salvation? The great scholastics having set the stage, the fears of the age leading to demonomania were confirmed and concretely expressed in the papal bull, *Summis desiderantes* . . . of Innocent VIII, issued on December 9, 1484. The content and tone of the bull is well represented by the following extract:

1. Born at Coma, Egypt, in 251, St. Anthony was the pious son of rich Christians. Their death when he was about eighteen or twenty left him wealthy, but he gave his money away to lead a life of piety (according to Matthew 19:21). Devilish temptations in the form of evil thoughts, lusts, and desires of all kinds soon disturbed him, the Devil even assuming the most seductive feminine form to shake his resolve, but without success. Then Anthony left his village to live in the tombs nearby, and there underwent the famous temptation so frequently depicted in art and literature. According to Caxton's translation of the *Vitae patrum*, he arranged with a kinsman that "in certayn dayes he sholde sende hym for to lyve for the sustenacyon of his lyfe" after which he shut the door upon the world without. "And the devylles came in grete multytude. whyche brake upp the doore/ And bete hym soo moche that he had loste his voyce and his herynge/ And he beyng lefte so sore herte and wounded/ that the Payne of his woundes surmounted all tormentes of mankynde." Fortunately his kinsman returned, found the saint unconscious and "toke hym on his necke and bare hym unto his house." Anthony revived after nightfall when all were asleep except his kinsman, and asked that he be carried back to the tomb. Again alone, after prayer he dared the Devil to do his worst: "And Incontinent was made a grete tempeste. that the hous was broken on al sydes/ And therin entred a innumerable multytude of devylles in divers formes/ Some in lykenesse of bulles. and other of lyons. of dragons. of wulves. of addres. of Serpentes & scorpions. and the other in dyverse formes. as of liepardes/ tygres. & beres. eche of hem cried after his nature." But Anthony mocked them, confident in his faith, and they were powerless against him. "Wherfore our lord whyche levyth not his seruautes in dangeour/ Seenge the vycorye of his goode knyghte saynt Anthonye/ came for to vysyte hym/ Descendyng as a lyghte in to his habytacyon/ After whyche lyghte receyved. all his paynes and soores were heelyd/

And his hous whyche was al to broken was Incontynent made agayne/ Saynt Anthonye knewe thenne that god was come to comforte him/ And began to crye/ O my god/ O good Jhesus where wert thou whan I was thus scorged all this daye Why camest thou not atte begynnyng for to heele my woundes and soores/ The voyce ansueryd/ Anthonye I was here/ But I taryed thy vycorye/ And now bi cause thou haste strongly foughтен. I shall alwaye helpe the/ And shall make thy name by renommed thorough oute all the worlde/ The whyche voyce herde. He arros up and was more stronge and constaunte to praye god thanne he was tofore/ And he was atte that tyme .xxxv. yere olde" (St. Jerome, *Vitas [sic] patrum . . . translated out of Frensshe into Englysshe by William Caxton*, Westminster, Wynkyn de Worde, 1495, fol. xxxiii v-xxxiv r). The details of Anthony's life were first recounted in St. Athanasius' *Vita antonii*. They became widely known when the Evagrian translation into Latin was incorporated into the *Vitae patrum*, and available to all through Jean de Vignai's translation of Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, where the Athanasian account appears in abbreviated form. The translation appeared by 1348 and was extremely popular among the laity. The later popularity of Anthony's life and temptations, subsequently embellished in literature and art, was not so much due to the high monastic ideal he represented as to the efforts of the Hospital Order of St. Anthony. Its attempts to cure the endemic gangrenous disease known as St. Anthony's Fire (*ignis sacer*; probably ergotism) resulted in Anthony's elevation to the position of a sainted protector, along with SS. Roch and Sebastian, against the plague and other mediaeval ills. As a result Anthony passed from the monastic realm to that of thaumaturgy and popular acclaim. For further details see the present writer's "Some Grünewald Sources," *Art Quarterly*, xix, 2, 1956, pp. 102ff.

2. *Summa theologiae*, question 114, article 4.

It has indeed lately come to our ears, not without afflicting us with bitter sorrow, that in some parts of Northern Germany, as well as in the provinces, townships, territories, districts, and dioceses of Mainz, Cologne, Treves, Salzburg and Bremen, many persons of both sexes, unmindful of their own salvation, and straying from the Catholic Faith, have abandoned themselves to devils, incubi and succubi, and by their incantations, spells, conjurations and other accursed charms and crafts, enormities and horrid offenses, have slain infants yet in the mother's womb, as also the offspring of cattle, have blasted the produce of earth . . . afflict and torment men and women . . . with terrible and piteous pains and sore diseases both external and internal; they hinder men from performing the sexual act and women from conceiving . . . over and above this they blasphemously renounce that Faith which is theirs by the Sacrament of Baptism, and at the instigation of the Enemy of Mankind they do not shrink from committing the foulest abominations and filthiest excesses. . . .³

The coming of Antichrist and chiliastic belief were equally widespread. Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* devotes a whole chapter to Antichrist, whose coming was considered imminent:

Der endkrist sytzt im grossen schiff
Und hat sin bottschafft vss gesandt
Falscheit verkundt er/ durch all landt
Falsch glouben/ vnd vil falscher ler
Wachsen von tag zu tag ye mer . . .
Die zyt kumt/ es kumt die zyt
Ich vorcht der endkrist sy nit wyt.⁴

The mediaeval tract on the Fifteen Signs before Doomsday was revived and printed to form popular reading in the late fifteenth century.⁵ Bosch's pronounced pessimism was undoubtedly due in part to renewed attacks of the plague around the turn of the century.

The occult now played no small part in the mind of man. Terrified by his belief that the world might end at any moment, he read avidly the new, printed astrological prognostications, horoscopes, calendars, and almanacs. But there was no relief in the almanac published at Ulm in 1499, in which Johann Stoeffler predicted the end of the world (in the form of a second deluge) on February 25, 1524.⁶ Belief in astrology was common. Leading universities, such as Padua, had professors of the subject on their faculties. Even Marsilio Ficino had more than passing acquaintance with the art; like all physicians of his day he was thoroughly versed in stellar doctrine. The health of the studious, and its protection, is discussed in the first section of his *De vita triplici*; the studious are Saturnine melancholics, and as a child of Saturn, Ficino considered himself one of them. Saturn being the planet of the old, Venus was inimical to them; they therefore had to avoid things under her influence. The children of the cold and dry planets, Mercury and Saturn, were considered as inclined to genius, being driven by Saturn, highest of the planets, to study of the highest things. The Florentine Neoplatonists thereby elevated the saturnine type to a position which the type had not previously enjoyed in mediaeval astrology—and which it certainly did not enjoy in the north at the same date. But Ficino qualified his belief by holding that the influence of the stars was confined to inferior objects; however, by means of

3. *Malleus maleficarum*, Trans. with an Introd. by . . . Montague Summers, [London], John Rodker, 1928, p. xlivi.

4. Sebastian Brant, *Das Narrenschiff*, Faksimile der Erstausgabe von 1494, mit einem Anhang enthaltend die Holzschnitte der folgenden Originalausgaben und solche der locherschen Übersetzung, und einem Nachwort von Franz Schultz, Strasbourg, 1913 (Jahresgaben der Gesellschaft für elsässische Literatur, 1), pp. 280f. Edwin Zeydel's translation (*The Ship of Fools by Sebastian Brant, Trans. into Rhyming Couplet with Introd. and Commentary*, New York, 1944 [Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, xxxvi], p. 334) gives a good modern approximation:

" . . . In th' large ship Antichrist does sit,
He's sent a message out to man,

False things he spreads where'er he can,
Creeds, dogmas false in every way
Now seem to grow from day to day . . .
The time comes, that it comes is clear,
The Antichrist is very near . . ."

5. Emile Mâle, *L'art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France*, Paris, 1922, 2nd ed., pp. 441f.; also see William Heist, *The Fifteen Signs Before Doomsday*, East Lansing, 1952.

6. Ludovicus Hain, *Repertorium bibliographicum . . .*, Stuttgart, Paris, 1826-1838, no. 15085. The prediction was based on sixteen conjunctions in Pisces in February, 1524 (see Aby Warburg, *Gesammelte Schriften, Die Erneuerung der heidnischen Antike*, Leipzig, 1932, II, p. 509).

stellar rays the vibrations of the world soul were transmitted to the soul of man only if he had freed himself from all that is sordid and dissimilar to the celestial.⁷ Pico della Mirandola, in his *Disputationes adversus astrologiam* epitomized and popularized by Savonarola about 1497, was the first great thinker of the late fifteenth century to castigate astrological belief.⁸ But the belief was already widespread, otherwise the popularization would not have appeared. Rulers of the era depended upon the divinations by court astrologers who used the astrological treatises so numerous among incunabula. Even the authors of the *Malleus maleficarum*, the German Inquisitors Henricus Kramer (Institoris), and Jacobus Sprenger, both cited in the 1484 bull of Innocent VIII, share the common belief in the power of the stars.⁹ As in Ficino, Christian resolution is achieved by assertion of free will and the grace of God.¹⁰ Astrology was thus important in the belief of the average man, and by no means died with the era.¹¹ Such ardent belief in astrology seems to have been a natural accompaniment to the pessimistic outlook of the age.

Pessimism appears in Bosch's art in numerous ways, but most clearly in the reiteration of the theme of human folly. In the *Death of the Miser* (Kress Coll.), this theme (here based on the *Ars moriendi*) is mordantly presented. Unmistakable is the folly of man, who reaches for those worldly goods proffered by a demonic ape at the side of the bed, yet at the same time foolishly tries to accept the good offices of the angel pointing out the salvation to be achieved through the instrumentality of Christ's sacrifice. The theme of human folly recurs in the *Ship of Fools* (Paris, Louvre), and in the *Garden of Earthly Delights* (Escorial). Both works demonstrate the importance of the theme, but particularly the latter, wherein the conception of human folly is carried to its Boschian conclusion on the right wing: folly is sinful, and sinners meet their fate in Hell. Others have already noted that certain motives in the Escorial painting have been drawn from the *Visio Tondali*, that important precursor of Dante from the end of the twelfth century. It was very popular in the Netherlands at the end of the fifteenth century.¹²

Bosch continually repeated the theme of salvation of a foolish, evil world through Christ's sacrifice. This is the subject of the exterior grisailles of Bosch's *Temptation of St. Anthony* triptych (Fig. 1). *The Taking of Christ* and the *Carrying of the Cross* are equated with the interior scenes of Anthony's temptations. Anthony's elevation to a position close to that of Christ had been

7. Marsilio Ficino, *De vita libri tres . . .*, Lyons, 1560, pp. 116ff., 124ff.

8. Hain-Copinger, 14378.

9. The earliest edition was published at Speyer ca. 1485 by Peter Drach (Hain-Copinger 9238); the earliest dated edition at Nuremberg by Anton Koberger in 1494 (Hain-Copinger 9245), and by Johann Koelhoff at Cologne (Hain-Copinger 8244). Belief in astrology appears in numerous places, for the authors were quite repetitious:

"In the first place, nobody denies that certain harms, and damages which actually and visibly affect men, animals, the fruits of the earth, and which often come about by the influence of the stars, may yet often be brought by demons, when God permits them to act" (*Malleus maleficarum*, ed. cit., p. 16).

" . . . man is governed as to his body by the celestial bodies, as to his intellect by the angels, and as to his will by God . . ." (*ibid.*, p. 35).

" . . . the stars cause natural effects . . ." (*ibid.*, p. 39).

" . . . the stars are a cause of human acts . . . ; there are two reasons why devils molest men at certain phases of the Moon [devils operate through natural powers]. Therefore they study the aptitudes of bodies for receiving an impression; and because as Aristotle says, the brain is the most humid of all parts of the body, therefore it chiefly is subject to the operation of the Moon, which itself has the power to incite humours. Moreover, the animal forces are perfected in the brain, and therefore the devils disturb a man's fancy according to certain phases of the Moon, when the brain is ripe for such influence" (*ibid.*, p. 40).

" . . . the power of Saturn over lead, the influence of that planet in other respects [is] evil . . ." (*ibid.*, p. 87).

10. Though astrology was given credence, it is curious to note that Astronomy, member of the Quadrivium, was definitely allied with the "Enemy of Mankind," all its works being either the works of devils or allied to them; ". . . also are those images which are called astronomical the work of devils . . . the signs and characters on astronomical images imply only a tacit pact [with the devil]" (*ibid.*, p. 188).

11. Shakespeare speaks of Romeo and Juliet as the "star-crossed lovers," and the constant choral refrain in the second act of Claudio Monteverdi's opera, *L'Orfeo*, centers around the "stelle ingiuriose." Astrological belief still lives on, for example, in the daily horoscope printed in contemporary newspapers. For a more complete picture of the part played by astrology in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, see Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, New York, 1934, IV (Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries); Henry Lea's chapter (xix), "The Eve of the Reformation" in the *Cambridge Modern History*, New York, Cambridge, 1907, I (The Renaissance); Aby Warburg, *op.cit.*, II, pp. 459, 559, 627-657; Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology . . .*, New York, 1939, pp. 73-79; etc.

12. The *Boek van Tondalis wysionem* was published at Antwerp in 1482 by Mathias van der Goes (Hain-Copinger 15547) and at 's-Hertogenbosch in 1484 by Gerard Leempt of Nijmegen (M.F.A.G. Campbell, *Annales de la typographie néerlandaise au XVe siècle*, The Hague, 1874, p. 481, no. 1688).

suggested in earlier northern illuminations of an enthroned saint impervious to demonic assault, but here receives concrete expression.¹³

Anthony, as we know from St. Athanasius' Neoplatonic account of his life, represents a type, the heroic most elevated soul, tempted more strongly than ordinary mortals, yet resistant to the fiercest attack upon his belief. It is in keeping with the spirit of late mediaeval symbolism that an identification of Anthony with Christ should be made, an irrationality characteristic of symbolically oriented thinking, a "short-cut" pointed out so clearly by Huizinga.¹⁴ Bosch's sensitivity to the dominant aspects of his age results in their most lucid exposition in the Lisbon triptych. Moralizing in intent, the motives drawn from many sources, it is a pictorial attack upon popular superstitions (Figs. 1, 3, 4).

The left wing of the Lisbon triptych is an introduction to the scenes of the central panel and right wing. In the center of the wing the unconscious Anthony is carried across a bridge by a layman and two monks. St. Athanasius' *Vita antonii* mentions only a single bearer, but Bax has shown that the source for Bosch's scene is probably a Dutch version of the *Legenda aurea* printed at Gouda in 1478 by Gheraert Leeu.¹⁵ If there is a compositional relation to the central panel, Bosch has departed even further in the left wing from the Athanasian account by representing an unconscious Anthony as being returned to his tomb-cell in the central panel after his beating by demons. According to St. Athanasius, Anthony was unconscious on his return to the village and *conscious* when brought back to his cell.

Anthony's elevation and beating by demons is seen in the sky above. One of these demons dives under his cloak in a manner found earlier in the Madrid book of hours of ca. 1480 by the Master of Mary of Burgundy.¹⁶ Hands raised in prayer, Anthony is bent backwards over the upturned belly of an outstretched, winged toad.¹⁷ A fox-headed demon emerges from under his cloak and beats him with a branch.¹⁸ In Bosch's earlier painting of the *Seven Deadly Sins*, now in the Escorial, a fox-headed demon holds a mirror for a primping woman in the scene of *Superbia*, or *Vainglory*.¹⁹ A twin-tailed armored merman rides an open-mouthed fish to attack the saint with another fish for a lance. Now mermaids were equated in the *Physiologus* of Theobaldus with lying men who speak fair but do evil deeds, thereby destroying men's souls.²⁰ And this figure is a close parallel to the goading soldier on the exterior grisaille of the *Taking of Christ*. The parallel is not accidental.

Further attack comes from a winged catfish carrying a boat on its back. In the boat are a diving fish, a naked man seen from behind as bent double with his head between his legs, and several men who man the ship. One climbs the rigging to repair the broken mast. In a trailing dory another naked man is seen. He stands on his head to augment the erotic aura already created by the other naked figure.²¹ The boat and its contents have been convincingly related by Bax to illustrations of the whale in English thirteenth century bestiaries.²² Bosch, however, is not merely repeat-

13. Cf. Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms Douce 144, fol. 138; H. Y. Thompson Coll., Hours of Jean Dunois, fol. 265b; Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, ms 2004, fol. 232v; Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, ms 214, fol. 163v; N.Y., Morgan Library, ms 74, fol. 187r, etc.

14. J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, London, 1924, pp. 184ff.

15. D. Bax, *Oncijfering van Jeroen Bosch*, The Hague, 1949 (hereafter "Bax"), pp. 6, 8 n. 6. It relates that "sijn broederen" brought him back to the village after his initial demonic beating.

16. The antecedent cited by Charles de Tolnay, *Hieronymus Bosch*, Basel, 1937 (hereafter "Tolnay"), pl. 127, is a highly Italianate early fifteenth century Paris book of hours (British Museum, ms Add. 29433, fol. 89). Bosch, however, is clearly following the established lines of Antonite iconography seen closer to his own day in the art of the Master of Mary of

Burgundy (Madrid, Biblioteca nacional, ms E xiv Tesoro [Vit. 25-5], fol. 191; illus. in Otto Paecht, *The Master of Mary of Burgundy*, London, 1948, pl. 22b).

17. The toad obviously would and did have demonic associations in art and literature (Gustav Roskoff, *Geschichte des Teufels*, Leipzig, 1869, I, p. 346).

18. Bax's explanation (pp. 33f.) of the two dry branches, seen underneath the toad, as symbolic of dissolute revelers seems unconvincing, as is his conception of the fox head as a dog head.

19. Tolnay, pl. 4. The fox also appears in the *Ancren riwle* (Francis Gasquet, ed., *The Nun's Rule Being the Ancren Riwle . . .*, London, 1926, p. 148) as a symbol of cupidity.

20. See note 73.

21. Bax (pp. 34f.) overaccentuates it.

22. Bax, pp. 35, 38 n. 76; fig. 105.

ing an interesting artistic form but is reinterpreting it in relation to the black art of witchcraft. The key is found in the inverted figures.²³

Below the aerial temptation a habitation is created from a kneeling man who lifts his arrow-pierced forehead to the scene above (Fig. 6). The woman in the window embrasure at the left of this strange structure is a prostitute waiting for customers. That popular moral treatise, the *Somme le roi*, tells us that prostitution is the ninth branch of the sin of Covetousness, or Avarice.²⁴

A strange quartet approaches this sinful structure, led on by a mitred figure who gestures with a three-fingered hand to indicate the place to his queer followers. One, the fat bird in a monk's gown, may satirize monkish sins.²⁵ Another is a stag-headed figure dressed in a red cloak, in itself insufficient evidence for considering this figure to be a castigated cardinal.²⁶ Close to Bosch's own day and thus pertinent is the characterization found on folio 19v of the *Ovide moralisé*, printed at Bruges in 1484 by Colard Mansion; "le cerf cornu cest le diable plain dorgueil."²⁷ The mitred figure symbolizes heresy and heretical belief, a branch of the deadly sin of Pride, according to the *Somme le roi*²⁸ (to which sin the stag is also related, as in Mansion's *Ovide moralisé*).

Behind and to the left of Anthony and his bearers is the fantastic form of a head with wings (a demonic face at the base of one), growing from the posterior of a high-booted horse. Armless, and without torso, it blows on a bagpipe through a long, thin tube. A jay is perched on its tail. Equally enigmatic is the arrow piercing the haunch, and the sword in its flank like a blade in a scabbard. Bagpipes blown by fantastic creatures are commonplace in drollery illustrations in fifteenth century manuscripts, while demonic associations with this idea can be found in a Hell scene in a *Cité de Dieu* manuscript in Brussels (Bibliothèque royale, ms 9006, fol. 265v), where a demon blows on the pipes.²⁹ The curious piercing motif, frequently found in Bosch's paintings, has a parallel in astrological manuscripts of Albumasar in the figure of the third dean of Libra (from the Persian *Sphaera*). One such manuscript of the early fourteenth century (British Museum, ms Sloan 3983) apparently served as a model for Flemish astrological manuscripts of the early fifteenth century; quite possibly it was known to Bosch.³⁰

Above this figure appears a scorpion-tailed fish with a church tower on its back. A round shield at its side suggests wheels though motive power is furnished by grasshopper legs. Another fish disappears into its mouth, and this had led to the belief that it illustrates the Flemish proverb so well known from the work of Pieter Brueghel; "The big fish eat the little fish." Bax interpreted this creature in relation to its parts; the grasshopper or locust (only the legs are present) as symbolic of hypocrisy.³¹ But the scorpion also has the connotation of lust.³² By such a fragmented method Bosch's figure cannot be properly understood; detailed analysis of the several meanings

23. For a detailed analysis of this group, the group in the middle zone below, and the aerial riders on the right wing, see Charles D. Cuttler, "Witchcraft in a Work by Bosch," *Art Quarterly* (to appear shortly).

24. W. Nelson Francis, ed., *The Book of Vices and Virtues. A Fourteenth Century English Translation of the Somme le Roi of Lorens d'Orleans*, Edited from the Three Extant Manuscripts, Early English Text Society, Original Series, No. 217 (hereafter "Francis"), p. 41.

25. See Bax, pp. 24f. His interpretation of this bird as symbolic of excessive drinking and excessive gossiping seems unconvincing. Further, the citation of similar motifs in works by followers and imitators is far from being convincing proof of their meaning in Bosch's art; it is, in fact, misleading and erroneous (see below, note 50).

26. Bax, p. 25. In the moralizing tales of the fourteenth century Franciscan, Nicole Bozon, an elaborate parallel is drawn between a rutting stag and a lecherous man (Lucy Toulmin Smith and Paul Meyer, *Les contes moralisés. Publié pour la première fois d'après les manuscrits de Londres et de Cheltenham*, Société des anciens textes français, 1884, pp. 56f.).

27. Hain-Copinger 12164. Other equally curious motifs are

present in this work and are of a nature which would have had a ready appeal to Bosch; grotesque animals and birds with human heads, tritons conceived as fish blowing on trumpets, Neptune as the devil of the sea and the tritons as, "gengleurs, les avant parliers et les adulateurs et les flateurs" are characteristic. For an illustration of Diana the huntress with these birds and animals see A. J. J. Delen, "L'illustration du livre en Belgique," in *Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie en Belgique des origines à nos jours*, Brussels, 1930, II, p. 96.

28. Francis, p. 15. The book was particularly popular in Holland where five editions were printed before 1500 (*ibid.*, p. xxxi).

29. A work in the Guillebert de Mets manner of ca. 1420-1435; illus. in Camille Gaspar et Frédéric Lyna, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, II, Paris, Société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures, 1945, pp. 40-45, pl. CXXVB.

30. Illus. in Warburg, *op.cit.*, fig. 177; also cf. Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, Cambridge, Mass., 1953, p. 107.

31. Bax, pp. 19f., 29, 149f.

32. Gasquet, p. 148.

of constituent parts is not sufficient to explain the whole. The correct interpretation may be indicated by the action of swallowing a fish while at the same time greedily eyeing the apparently edible ball dangling from the pole held by the little man riding at the base of the tower on the creature's back. The ball used as a steering device calls to mind the method employed by Alexander in the popular mediaeval account of his voyage into the upper air borne up by griffons. If the Boschian model in the Escorial panel be allowed, then Envy is the sin characterized by this creature. There a dog with bones at his feet eyes with greed the bone in the hand of a man leaning on the half door.³³ Seemingly Bosch had both Greed and Envy in mind in designing this fantastic form. By adding a church tower to the back of the creature, he has alluded to the rapacity of the Church. Probably the motif was suggested by illuminations of battle scenes in various fifteenth century *manuscrits de luxe*, such as the *Grandes chroniques de France*, Livy's *Histoire romaine*, etc., in which elephants carry armored howdahs on their backs.³⁴ The tail in this creature's mouth recalls an elephant's trunk to further suggest that beast as part of the artist's inspiration. Now it was natural for the elephant to have acquired symbolic meaning for mediaeval man. One is therefore not unduly astonished to find the elephant with a tower on its back considered a symbol of the Virgin.³⁵ According to mediaeval lore it was "notoriously sluggish in sexual matters" and thus came to be associated with Chastity.³⁶ The Physiologus says the female elephant cannot conceive unless she first plucks the mandrake from outside the gate of Paradise, then eats and offers it to her mate to awaken his sexual desires. The moral of the tale presents the elephant as "the prototype of the ideal Christian spouse who will mate without sexual appetite, solely for the sake of offspring."³⁷ Bosch's unvirtuous creature, however, symbolizes the very opposite of such chaste behavior as it advances down the path toward a dwelling of contraindication, a house of prostitution. It is clear that in this sinful world Christian virtues are transformed everywhere into their opposites.

In the background lies a bay dotted with sunken ships, past which sails a ship that has yet to meet the fate of the others. A flaming beacon stands high on the rocks to the right while a cross is seen in the plain below. Though interpreted as related to the Netherlandish proverb, "A wreck in the water serves as a beacon," with the flaming beacon assumed to be false and the work of the Devil in contrast to the true beacon of the cross, one hesitates to accept this explanation because of the insignificance of the cross in relation to the beacon.³⁸

Below the bridge fantastic figures flank an evil cleric reading with obviously unholy enjoyment from a sheet of paper in his hands (Fig. 5).³⁹ They are approached by a funnel-crowned bird on skates with large head and sleepy eyes, a letter spiked on his crossed beak. The inscription on the letter may possibly be read as "oisif" (with a reversed f), or "oisuy," variants of the modern French "oisif," lazy, thus symbolizing Sloth.⁴⁰ In truth this is a lazy bird who prefers

33. Tolnay, pl. 5a.

34. According to Wm. S. Heckscher ("Bernini's Elephant and Obelisk," *ART BULLETIN*, XXIX, 1947, p. 158, and n. 20) the elephant entered the West in relation to Alexander's victory over King Porus and his war elephants with towers on their backs. The coincidental relationship between the mahout steering Bosch's creature à la Alexander becomes striking.

35. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 161 n. 31. For a relationship between elephant, castle, Dame Church and the Turk in the accounts of Olivier de la Marche, cf. *ibid.*, p. 167 n. 55. The Turk, in Bosch suggested by the crescent on the staff of the three-fingered mitred man, is one of the attackers of the Fortress of Faith in the illumination on folio 3 of Alphonsus de Spina's *Fortalitium fidei*, Brussels, Bibl. roy., MS 9524, ca. 1470-1485.

36. Heckscher, *op.cit.*, p. 176, and n. 109.

37. *ibid.*, p. 173.

38. Bax, pp. 30f.

39. The identification of the middle figure as a bear (Bax, p. 13) is not convincing. The meaning of these figures is not

clear. Their position under the bridge may have been suggested by the story told in the *Malleus maleficarum* (Summers, *op.cit.*, p. 133) of the exorcised devil who had remained within a man even though he had taken the Host at mass. When finally expelled, the demon obligingly explained how he had stayed in the man despite the swallowing of the Host. At the crucial moment he had hidden under the man's tongue; "anyone may hide under a bridge while a holy man is crossing as long as he does not pause in his walk."

40. Tolnay, p. 30, interpreted this figure as a castigation of the sale of indulgences; Jacques Combe (*Hieronymus Bosch*, trans. Ethel Duncan, Paris, 1946, p. 85) turned the inscription upside down and made out the word "Grasso," a clear allusion to the trafficking in indulgences, to the paid-for right of eating meat in Lent and to the corrupt divines who wax fat on such offerings." To paint such an inscription Bosch would have had to turn his large panel upside down which is rather unlikely. Nor is it likely that he was trying to confuse the observer by writing, as Bax believes (p. 10), an abbreviated



1. Exterior

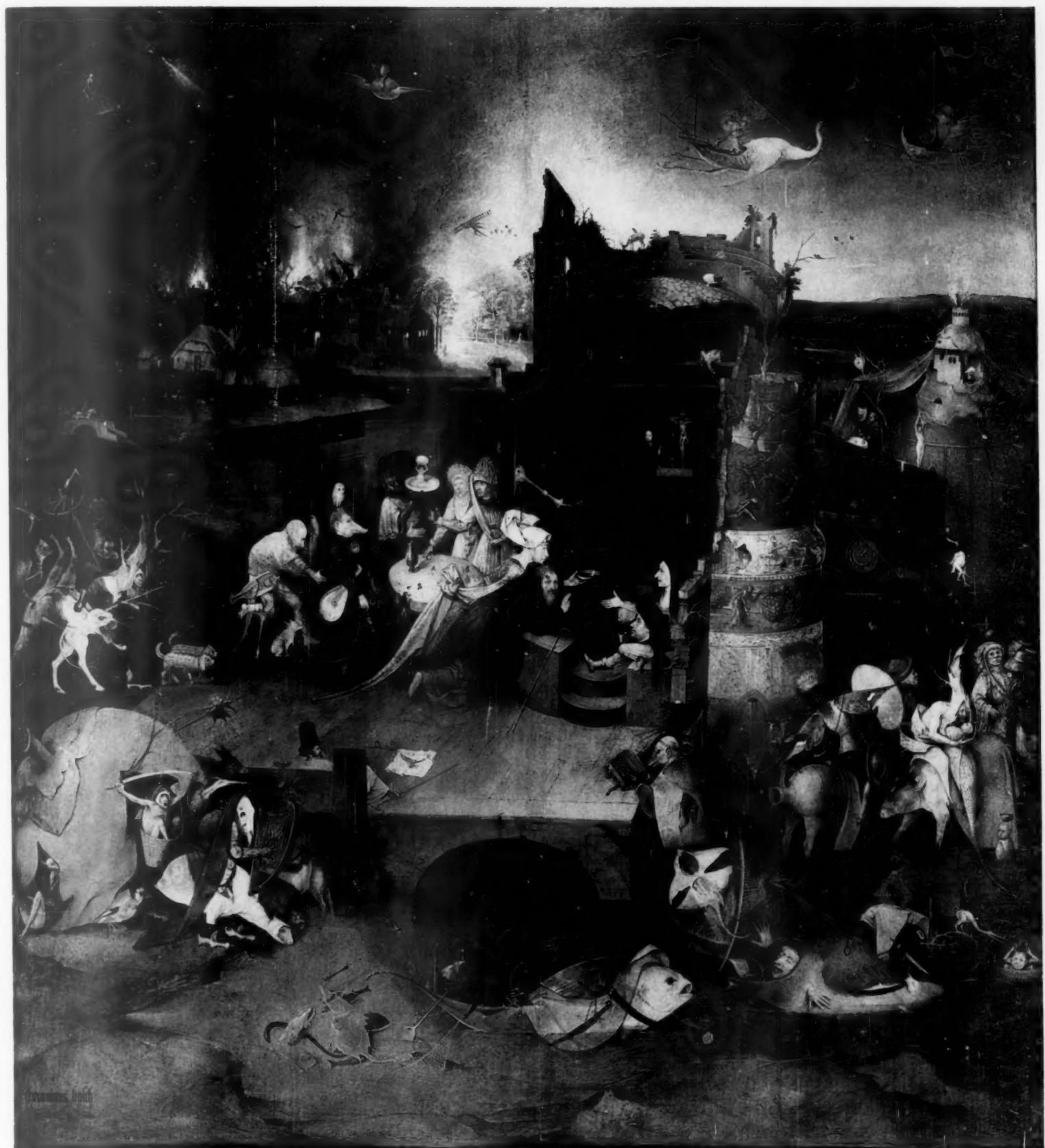


2. Central panel, detail of upper left-hand corner

1-2. Bosch, *Temptation of St. Anthony*. Lisbon, Museu nacional de arte antiga



3. Bosch, *Temptation of St. Anthony*. Lisbon, Museu nacional de arte antiga, interior, wings



4. Bosch, *Temptation of St. Anthony*. Lisbon, Museu nacional de arte antiga, central panel



5. Left wing, detail of lower zone



6. Left wing, detail of middle zone



7. Central panel, detail

skating on ice to walking—he doesn't have to pick up his feet! He slides into sin as did the unfortunate granddaughter described in Book vi, chapter 52, of the *Revelations of St. Birgitta*: "I slide ayene int-to synne as he that slideth vpon yse; for my wille was colde and wolde not aryse and flee froo tho thinges that delited me."⁴¹ Birgitta's *Revelations* were popular reading in the late fifteenth century, several translations having been printed in the Netherlands.⁴² Bosch here points out to his observer how man slides into sin by refusing to exercise his freedom of will to resist the Devil and choose the good, as had Anthony.

Low on the left of the panel, a large-beaked featherless bird—with teeth—is perched on a gigantic egg. It is eating one of its young, while the remainder poke their heads out of the egg. The bird is close in type to a woodcock, or snipe, which has a reputation for maternal devotion.⁴³ Again Bosch presents a contraindication. The action of this barbarous bird has a human parallel in the classical myth of Saturn, who also devoured his children.⁴⁴ Such action is also attributed to Wrath, and indeed the two ideas are not inimical.⁴⁵ Further, we know that late mediaeval thought allied the planets to the Seven Deadly Sins. Saturn, slowest of the planets in describing its orbit, was allied with Sloth, and it is significant to note that this bird is placed in a position of almost equal importance with the sleepy, slothful skater.⁴⁶ Again we anticipate what is to be found in the central panel, where instead of an Anthony subject to demonic attack with dubious outcome, we shall find one triumphant over numerous temptations.

The right wing of the Lisbon triptych presents temptations to indulge in riotous living (Fig. 3). These are related to the table at the lower left of the panel and to the seemingly naked woman emerging from the dry-branched tree in the water to the left of the saint. The round table is supported by two naked men, while a third, with draped shoulders, blows on an instrument rather like a trumpet except that it bends back upon itself. The table is half covered by a cloth upon which are found a jug, several fruits, and the two loaves of bread which had appeared on the ground between Anthony and his temptress in the earlier miniature by the Master of Mary of Burgundy.⁴⁷ A demon emerges from under the cloth on the near side of the table as another appears on the far side, the demonic character of the whole setting being nowhere in doubt. The musician blows smoke from his curved trumpet, from which a sausage dangles incongruously.⁴⁸ Though heavily draped about the shoulders, the trumpeter's naked body is revealed by a filmy undergarment. A similar figure draped only about the shoulders, and lacking the filmy garment, appears frequently in mediaeval art as an acrobat or jongleur. The filmy garment is found clothing the *Imago vanitatis* in earlier manuscripts of the fifteenth century.⁴⁹ Bosch has combined the two types to augment his conception of Anthony's temptation by the deadly sin of Gluttony, adding thereto the lesser sin of Vanity.

To the right of the trumpeter a naked man with his left foot in a jug supports the table with his left arm, while his right arm is supported by a crutch. There is an antecedent with demonic connections for the motive of the foot in a pot; however, it does not seem likely, if for no other

protestatio (proto) in mirror-writing as a sort of hypocritical picketing of the saint.

⁴¹ William P. Cumming, ed., *The Revelations of Saint Birgitta*, Edited From the Fifteenth-century MS. in the Garrett Collection in the Library of Princeton University . . . , Early English Text Society, Original Series, No. 178, p. 114.

⁴² At Antwerp in 1489 and 1491 by Gheraert Leeu (Campbell, *Annales* . . . , nos. 380, 382).

⁴³ L. Charbonneau-Lassay, *Le bestiaire du Christ*, Bruges, 1940, p. 606. Bax's interpretation of this figure (p. 18) as a glutton who makes himself poor by his gluttony is unconvincing, though his suggestion of the figure as a devilish inversion of the Christian pelican symbol is ingenious. It is in keeping with the present writer's conception of Boschian inversion as set forth above.

⁴⁴ See Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, pl. xxiv, fig. 45; pl. xxv, figs. 46, 47.

⁴⁵ For Wrath devouring her children, see F. Saxl, "A Spiritual Encyclopedia of the Later Middle Ages," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, v, 1942, p. 116 (hereafter "Saxl").

⁴⁶ The compositionally prominent sins in the foreground complement the two major events on this wing; the violent aerial beating probably suggested Wrath, and the unconscious return to the village probably suggested Sloth to Bosch's fertile imagination.

⁴⁷ See note 16.

⁴⁸ The sausage appears in Bosch's earlier scene of Gluttony from the *Seven Deadly Sins* panel, Escorial (Tolnay, pl. 4b).

⁴⁹ Saxl, p. 102 n. 5; pl. 26b-d.

reason than its extreme crudity of execution, to have been a source drawn upon by the Netherlandish painter.⁵⁰ The idea is probably his own invention and meant to express Gluttony.

The third naked figure lies on his back while supporting the table with his knees. Blood flows from a wound in his leg. In a gloved right hand he holds a damaged sword, no deterrent to a feline demon leaning forward to slit his throat. Clearly this is an illustration of the words of Christ from the Gospel of Matthew, ". . . all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword."⁵¹ The severing of Malchus' ear which occasioned these words is prominently portrayed on the exterior grisaille of the left wing, and by that prominence again demonstrates the external-internal relationship of Christ and Anthony.⁵²

All belly is the fantastic creature to the right of the table whose feet in a single large shoe suggests a pig with both feet in its trough. Swollen bellies are of course an obvious symbol for Gluttony, and textual parallels are readily found for such an idea; Guillaume de Deguileville's popular *Pèlerinage de l'âme* presents such a parallel.⁵³

Above the table of Gluttony is another temptation; feminine incitement to sin. A naked woman emerges from a draped, hollow, and lifeless tree while an old woman with an exotic aureole pours wine into a shallow dish held out by a lolling toad. One clawed foot grasps a filmy garment which covers but does not conceal the naked woman, thereby indicating that she is an instrument of the Devil. A catlike demon holds out a fish pierced with an arrow as two ape-headed demons peer out from behind the tree. The nude woman standing in the water may have been inspired by the story of the Devil Queen found in the writings of Alphonsus Bonhominis.⁵⁴ A nude temptress appears in the Valletta MS of 1426; thus the nude female in Bosch's painting has a definite source in Antonite iconography.

The impressions derived from the table, the figures, and the elements in the immediate surroundings, are suggestive in two directions: the first, northern in spirit, leads toward the famous block-book, the *Exercitium super pater noster*, which in the scene *panem nostrum da nobis*, shows three loaves of bread on the table (*panem nature, panem gracie, panem glorie*),⁵⁵ while the scene *et ne nos inducas in temptationem* presents a man at table being crowned by Pride, offered a plate by Gluttony, and flanked by a third feminine figure symbolizing Avarice holding a purse;⁵⁶ the second direction seems to be a protest against a renascent, humanistic spirit in which may possibly be discerned what might be called an "anti-type" of a bacchanal. Bosch's iconographic elements, however, seem thoroughly northern. One has no doubt that the temptations are not truly tempting nor are they meant to be; by no means are they to be enjoyed. Beyond the dead tree on the left

50. Bax, pp. 115, 120 n. 30. The motif employed by Bosch with demonic associations recurs in Brueghel; the protagonist on the barrel in the *Contest between Carnival and Lent* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) also has his foot in a jug. But Brueghel's figure lacks demonic connotations, a significant change which throws into question the validity of Bax's continuous citation of Boschian motifs in Brueghel's art as proof of their meaning in the paintings of the earlier master.

51. Matthew 26:52.

52. Bax's interpretation of this (p. 115) as a sword dancer connected with Carnival cannot be accepted. His conception of the nakedness of the whole group as symbolic of poverty is clearly contrary to the frequent mediaeval identification of nakedness and sin, particularly evident in sculptures of the damned on the great cathedrals (e.g., Amiens, Bourges). Poverty was not a sin.

53. Swollen bellies characterize the gluttonous in Book 11, ch. 45 (cf Morton Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins*, East Lansing, 1952, p. 232).

54. The dominican monk Alphonsus Bonhominis provided the greatest late mediaeval addition to the corpus of legends of St. Anthony when he translated in 1342 certain tales about

Anthony. These translations, made from Arabic, at Famagusta, Cyprus, had wide acceptance and long life. The most popular concerns the Devil Queen discovered by Anthony bathing in a river. When properly dressed she discourses with the saint, invites him to visit her city, there shows him its riches, demonstrates her power to heal the sick, and finally invites him to become her husband. Anthony, overwhelmed by all this as well as her verbosity, declines, but she persists and attempts to remove his habit. This act he recognizes as truly devilish and fights her off, whereupon devils fly in from every point and the battle is joined. After several days of continuous fighting Anthony emerges victorious. (Rose Graham, ed., *A Picture Book of the Life of St. Anthony the Abbot*. Reproduced From a MS. of the Year 1426 in the Malta Public Library at Valletta . . . , Roxburghe Club no. 201, pp. 85-88). A detailed study of manuscripts containing this and other stories transmitted by Alphonsus is found in F. Halkin, S. J., "La légende de S. Antoine traduite de l'arabe par Alphonse Bonhomme O. P.," *Analecta bollandiana*, LX, 1942, pp. 161-165.

55. Delen, pl. xvi; Paul Kristeller, *Exercitium super pater noster*, Berlin, 1908, pl. 6.

56. *ibid.*, pl. 8.

is seen a portion of a figure about to mount a ladder leaning against a dead branch; figures climbing a ladder are found in several astrological manuscripts where the children of a planet are depicted.⁵⁷ In the middle distance is seen a porcupine, that common mediaeval symbol for the temptations of the flesh.

Beyond and to the right of a reflective Anthony interrupted in his reading by these demonic temptations is a simple-faced man without arms. Placed within a device used to help children learning to walk, he gazes vapidly beyond the picture frame. A small jug hangs on the side of his baby walker and a child's pinwheel is stuck in his clothing. The jug, an attribute of Gluttony, indicates this is a castigation of drunkenness, which makes men foolish.⁵⁸ This childish man turns away from the saint whose model he should follow to free himself from the foolish ways which cage him. In spirit this figure is related to drollery illustrations.⁵⁹ The possibility that this and other Boschian motives have origins in manuscript illumination, either in already certified bestiary scenes or in the marginal drolleries so characteristic of earlier English manuscripts, and particularly Dutch and Flemish manuscripts of the fifteenth century, is so marked that citation of a specific source for a single motive is to be viewed with extreme caution; what may be accepted wholeheartedly is Bosch's thorough acquaintance with the art.

To Anthony's right a lizard with a monk's cowl is probably meant as a comment on the sinful character of some monks. In the distance appears a walled town the ramparts of which are lined with an immense crowd watching a swimming man with sword and shield fighting a dragon in a moat. These elements still lack a satisfactory explanation.⁶⁰

In the sky above a large fish flies by with a man and woman on its back. In the grossness of his form the foremost rider shows an analogy to the temptations of Gluttony seen below. Bosch's model was apparently the sole miniature in a tract against witchcraft in the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels (ms 11209). The fish, undoubtedly derived from the *serra* or sawfish of the bestiaries (from which Bosch had already taken the motif of the aerial boat on the left wing), was there considered to be the Devil. Now that prime heretic literally supports his followers.⁶¹ Bosch allied the heretical fish to the Brussels miniature or its very close family relations, and added an overtone of Gluttony. Thus the right wing presents further temptations of Anthony. The table and its related figures adds Gluttony to the list of deadly sins seen so far, with overtones of castigating worldly vanities, and an illustration of the end awaiting those sinful fools who live by the sword. The aerial group is related to that sin with the danger of sorcery as an added element. Gluttony is clearly the basic theme of this wing.

The central panel presents another (highly significant) set of ideas to augment those seen on the wings. Ostensibly the theme, derived from the Athanasian account by way of the *Vitae patrum*, is that of a kneeling Anthony too weak to rise yet able to taunt his tormentors to do their worst. But instead of taunting the fantastic crew surrounding him, Anthony turns to the spectator (Figs. 4, 7). His right hand raised in blessing, he shows his victory over the evil forces about him. The figure of Christ who has made this victory possible is almost lost in the shadow of Anthony's chapel. The Saint blesses with one hand, as behind him the temptress in her normal guise of rich clothing, her demonic character revealed by the lizard-shaped tail of her gown, offers a shallow cup of wine to two figures opposite Anthony.⁶² One, an old woman, reaches for it; the

57. A. Hauber, *Planetenkinderbilder und Sternbilder*, Strasbourg, 1916, Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte, 194, pl. XIV, fig. 19; pl. XXXIII, fig. 47.

58. Also see Bax, p. 110.

59. Cf. fol. 110 of a Netherlandish book of hours of ca. 1470, Boekenoogen Coll., Amsterdam (A. W. Byvanck and G. J. Hoogewerff, *La miniature hollandaise*, The Hague, 1926, pl. 14).

60. Bax (p. 122)—without evidence—considers this the city of the Devil Queen. The onion shaped towers may charac-

terize an eastern milieu, and it is possible that Bosch illustrated a now unknown legend related to Anthony; but there is nothing to permit an assumption that the city belongs to the Devil Queen.

61. Combe (p. 62 n. 89; fig., p. 35), suggested a woodcut from an almanach of 1498 showing Venus riding on a fish as an artistic source. But cf. note 23.

62. I wish to thank Miss Grace Alvares-Cabral of the American Embassy, Lisbon, for her kindness in determining for me that the hand offering the cup belongs not to Anthony but to

other is a man whose head grows from his legs for he has no torso. The proffered wine is seemingly the *saint vinage* made annually at St.-Antoine-en-Dauphiné by pouring wine over Anthony's relics. This was believed to give the wine miraculous curative powers, and the liquid was given to those suffering from St. Anthony's Fire, the *ignis sacer*.⁶³ Bosch thus not merely alludes to the story of the Devil Queen and her counterfeit of miraculous cures aided by demonic minions, but pessimistically shows how demonic power to counterfeit all human actions can even make mockery of the good works of the Hospital Order of St. Anthony. Now it is apparent that the lolling toad and the naked women in the water on the right wing are didactic reinforcements of these ideas.

Behind and to the left is a group of figures whose origin and meaning has escaped the eyes of previous writers on this painting. Rather than the celebration of a black mass, or any other aspect of witchcraft, a comparison will show that the source Bosch employed (which determined the character of the central figures and the structure of this central panel) is derived from a different aspect of popular belief. Astrological engravings provided the artistic sources. Astrology has been mentioned as having played an important part in the thoughts and beliefs of men of the late fifteenth century; by the manner of its inclusion Bosch denounces that belief.

Luna, cold and moist planet of the night, is dominant,⁶⁴ and thus responsible for the nocturnal aspect of this portion of the triptych. Indeed, quite rightly so, since Anthony's troubling visions and foul dreams came to him at night. At Anthony's back a young man, cup in hand, stands before a gaming table; he can only be explained in relation to Luna. The well-dressed young man is the gullible victim of the gesturing, pork-headed, owl-crowned conjurer. The conjurer is one of the children of Luna, who herself stands in yellow garments and with yellow face at the side of her child's victim.⁶⁵ The gesturing sharper, who has a dog in a fool's cap on a leash, had been portrayed previously by Bosch in a work, possibly a copy, in the Musée municipal, St.-Germain-en-Laye.⁶⁶ Though neither pig-headed nor owl-crowned he too is accompanied by a fool-capped dog. The conjurer's table is common in engravings and woodcuts of the planet Luna with her children. A Florentine engraving of ca. 1460 shows such a swindler in fool's attire cheating a gullible public grouped around his table (Fig. 8).⁶⁷ A monkey clings to his leg, the southern equivalent of the northern trained dog on a leash. Thus the motive of the gaming table with its connotations of trickery and deceit comes from a readily transported astrological engraving. Bosch has not merely copied the Florentine figures; their transformation is seen most clearly in the conjurer, whose pig head indicates a castigation of greed and gluttony, while the twin to his dagger and sheath hang on the wall of the room in which the sin of Gluttony is enacted in the Escorial painting of the *Seven Deadly Sins*. Gambling, according to the *Somme le roi*, was the tenth branch of Avarice, and often grew out of Gluttony.⁶⁸ The relationship between pig and Gluttony is an obvious one, quite common in both earlier and contemporary art, where this vice normally rides a pig.⁶⁹ Further borrowings from this same Florentine engraving establish it beyond doubt as Bosch's source. The Florentine double-arched bridge appears to the right of

the temptress. Positive proof is found in the crimson color of the sleeve, a contrast to the brownish grey of Anthony's habit.

63. Hippolyte Dijon, *L'église abbatiale de Saint-Antoine en Dauphiné*, Grenoble, Paris, 1902, pp. 21-22, 140.

64. "A female planet in the first sphere, moist, cold, and phlegmatic, situated between the upper and the nether world. She loves geometry and all appertaining thereto; she has a round face and is of medium stature. She governs silver among the metals, the phlegmatic among the temperaments, Spring among the seasons, water among the elements. Her day is Friday . . . her night is that of Friday. She is friendly to Jupiter, and hostile to Mars. She has only one house, in the Crab, near to the Sun and Mercury. She is in the ascendant in the Bull, in the descendant in the Scorpion. . . ." (Text

accompanying a Florentine engraving of Luna of ca. 1460, in Friedrich Lippmann, *The Seven Planets*, London, N.Y., 1895 [hereafter "Lippmann"], p. 4.) Mention has previously been made of the northern belief in a relationship between devils and the moon (see note 9).

65. Each planet has its children, that is, those whose birthday occurs during the ascendancy of the planet.

66. Tolnay, p. 18, pl. 2.

67. Lippmann, pl. A.VII: also cf. the later copy of the Florentine engraving (pl. B.VII), the Netherlandish block-book copy (pl. C.VII), the Housebook Master's drawing (pl. D.VII), etc.

68. Francis, pp. 41, 49.

69. Mâle, . . . *fin du moyen âge*, fig. 191.

the central panel now transformed into the base of a prison built over the water. A sundial atop a column beside the roadway above the double-arched bridge has been transferred to the prison wall, below which the Florentine swimmers and fishermen again appear. The diver at the right of the engraving has become the nude figure about to dive into the water at the right end of the prison roof. It is significant that the sundial appears *only in this version* of the planet Luna and her children; it cannot be found in any other preserved engraving or woodcut of the subject.⁷⁰ Thus, Bosch's source was the engraving of ca. 1460.

The prison is not exclusively derived from the Luna engraving; some elements are taken from the engraving of Saturn in the same series (Fig. 9).⁷¹ In it a prisoner is seen behind a barred window; in Bosch the bird with a ladder over its shoulder (gallows bird?), and the ape riding before him on a bull seemingly repeat the idea.⁷² The mother and child at the corner of the Florentine prison have been changed into the weird woman below the prison moat, who holds a swaddled child as she rides on a rat. Her body ends in a tail to give her the aspect of an evil mermaid, and indeed mermaids were in ill repute in the middle ages, the bestiaries considering them as devilish instruments synonymous with sirens. The mermaid-siren with her sweet voice lulled men to sleep so that they and their ships were destroyed. Mermaids were equated with lying men who speak fair but do evil deeds, thereby destroying men's goods and their souls by such treachery.⁷³ The motive is found in bestiary illustrations; it was sculptured at Strasbourg where a siren with animal legs holds a swaddled infant, and it is also seen in the north French Psalter of Guy de Dampierre executed between 1280-1297, where a marginal drollery on folio 179v shows a fish-tailed siren holding an unswaddled, but also fish-tailed, infant in her arms.⁷⁴ It has been suggested that Bosch's figure with her child, and the grey-bearded figure behind her, are compositionally based on the type of the Flight into Egypt.⁷⁵ This "anti-Flight into Egypt," which seems to be combined with an "anti-Adoration of the Magi," can be understood in relation to the prevailing belief in Antichrist.⁷⁶ Parallel events from the life of Christ and Antichrist were illustrated in manuscripts of the fifteenth century (Fig. 10). Bosch has portrayed such a parallel in this group, a portrayal very much in keeping with his normal inversion of the meaning of traditional images.

Other motives from the engraving of Saturn (Fig. 9) appear again in altered form; the butchered pig at the extreme right is seen at the far left of Bosch's central panel now hanging from the wheel at the end of a pole carried by a smirking, apelike man who wears a broken pot as a head covering. On the wheel itself is found a leg and blackened foot, perhaps a reminder of the effect of St. Anthony's Fire.⁷⁷ In the foreground of the engraving, to the left of the kneeling cripple, is another motive transformed by Bosch. A monkish almsgiver squats beside his soup kettle while a recipient of his charity drinks from a dish: in the painting the temptress proffers the same dish to the grotesque cripples before her. Antonite connections in the engraving are even more definite; one of the Florentine beggars at the corner of the prison wears a badge with the T cross of the Antonite Order upon it.⁷⁸

70. Cf. Lippmann, pls. B.VII, C.VII, E.VII, F.VII.

71. Lippmann, pl. A.I.

72. The bull has the connotation of Death in several late fifteenth century works, e.g., the illustration to Pierre Michault, *La danse des aveugles*, on fol. 198 of MS fr. 182, University Library, Geneva. (*Bulletin de la société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures*, 2^e année, no. 2, 1912, pl. XLVI, a).

73. Cf. the Early English (thirteenth century) translation of the Latin Physiologus of Theobaldus in Richard Morris, ed., *An Old English Miscellany*, Early English Text Society, O.S., No. 49, pp. 18-19.

74. For the Strasbourg figure, see C. Cahier, *Nouveaux*

mélanges d'archéologie, d'histoire et de la littérature sur le moyen âge, Paris, 1874, I, p. 159, fig. P; for the psalter, see Gaspar et Lyne, I, 1937, notice 95 (MS 10607), pp. 219-228.

75. Bax, p. 88.

76. Cf. the discussion of the Antichrist legend in Lotte Brand Philip, "The Prado Epiphany by Jerome Bosch," *ART BULLETIN*, XXXV, 4, 1953, pp. 270ff.

77. The wheel appears in the landscape of the Housebook Master's *Saturnus* (Lippmann, pl. D.I).

78. The cripples of the engraving may have suggested to Bosch the curious combination of head and legs opposite Anthony.

Still other engravings in the series provided motives. From representations of Jupiter may have come the thistle-headed hunter, bird at wrist, riding a metamorphosed jug at the right of the ruined tower. Such a figure on horseback, wearing a flat hat and seen from the rear, is ubiquitous in Italian representations of this planet (Fig. 11).⁷⁹ And the two hunting dogs at the upper right of the Jupiter engraving reappear at the left of the Lisbon panel as accompaniments to the armored and gauntleted figure holding a ferocious and fantastic animal by its wings. This red-stockinged man whose head emerges from the tree trunk growing from his shoulders, and who is preceded by these armored lap-dogs of unpleasant mien, is clearly Mars, the warlike planet.⁸⁰ The horsemen of the Mars engraving may have been the source for the group in the water to the right of the ruined tower.⁸¹ Venus has already made her appearance in the temptress who strives to lead Anthony astray. An equation of Venus, Satan, and Sin, found in the *Narrenschiff* is here called to mind.⁸² The harp-playing, skull-headed creature riding a fantastic form in front of the platform may have been suggested by the harp player astride a wall in the middle zone of the Netherlandish woodcut of Venus of ca. 1467, a cut derived from its Italian predecessor (Fig. 12).⁸³ The hat of the third figure of the musical trio in the foreground of the northern woodcut reappears on the conjurer's gullible victim. The pommer (a kind of oboe) of the first musician has a square shape close to its bell; this may be the source for the creature behind the gambling group. The creature's nose is elongated into a musical instrument of like shape, from which emerge wisps of smoke.⁸⁴ The proximity in their Boschian reappearance of these motives from the Venus woodcut may be taken as further proof of their derivation from a common source.

Now Venus is in the ascendant in Pisces, the watery sign of the zodiac. The prophecy of 1499 of the imminent coming of the end of the world was based on the numerous conjunctions in Pisces predicted for February 1524.⁸⁵ There is thus a further possible explanation for the numerous piscine shapes with evil connotations found throughout the triptych. The planet also makes her appearance in the monk and woman within a tent at the left of the onion tower. The loving pair in a tent in the northern cut of Venus (Fig. 12) has been transformed into a reference to the corruption of the clergy, indicated by the bellows placed prominently nearby. Such a loving couple within a tent had also been represented by Bosch as symbolic of Lust in the Escorial panel of the *Seven Deadly Sins*,⁸⁶ while the wealth of the Church was referred to by a popular preacher of the day as a pair of bellows which only serve to kindle the fires of Lust.⁸⁷ A crippled beggar with hurdy-gurdy at the waist is seen to the left of the gambling group. He is derived from similar figures in northern representations of Saturn, though in these the hurdy-gurdy is absent (Fig. 13).⁸⁸ That Bosch's beggar is evil is revealed by the little tail growing from the sole of his crippled foot, and by the longer tail of his coat.⁸⁹ Other elements from astrological represen-

79. See especially, Lippmann, p. 4, also cf. pls. A.II, B.II.

80. Two dogs pull the chariot of Mars in the woodcut of Hans Sebald Beham (Lippmann, pl. E.III).

81. Lippmann, pl. A.III.

82. See below, p. 123.

83. Lippmann, pl. 7, pls. A.v, C.v.

84. St. Birgitta had a vision in which a demon appeared with a head like a pair of bellows from which extended a long pipe; ". . . & I see that the fende stode on the kynges lefft side, whos hede was lyke to a payr of belowes with a long pipe, his armys wer as ij serpentes, and his knees lyke a presse, and his feete lyke a longe hooke" (*Revelations of Saint Birgitta*, ed. cit., p. 81). The "fende" had another aspect to the Swedish saint which Bosch might also have been acquainted with: "On the lefte syde of the kynge appered a fende whos hede was lyke to a dogg; his wombe myght nott be fyllid, his navyll was open and boyled out venom, coloured with all manner of venemouse colours. And in ych fote he hade iij clawes, grete, stronge, and sharpe" (*ibid.*, p. 71).

85. See above, p. 110, and note 6. Belief in the influence of

this on Bosch in conjunction with other evidence leads to a dating of the Lisbon triptych as ca. 1500-1505.

86. According to the *Somme le roi*, this is the twelfth branch of Lechery (Francis, p. 45).

87. Henry Lea, in *Cambridge Modern History*, 1, p. 676. In the Casanatensis manuscript (Fig. 10), bellows are employed in similar fashion: "In one [scene] is a chariot called the 'Castle of Simony'; on it a clerk is seen bargaining with a patron for a living. Behind the patron a devil is operating the five bellows of consanguinity, bribery, servitude, favour and noble birth" (Saxl, p. 87).

88. Lippmann, pl. C.I; also see Aby Warburg, 11, figs. 125, 131, 135.

89. Andre Chastel explained the temptation scene as the fantastic vision of a melancholic mind, "selon les lois d'une fantaisie qui nous échappe" ("La tentation de saint Antoine, ou le songe du mélancolique," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th series, xv, 1936, pp. 228-229). His conclusion was based on a representation of a monk with a blue T on his cloak, the sign of the Hospital Order, in a Saturn miniature from an astro-

tations are suggestive in character but not thoroughly demonstrable as having influenced Bosch.⁹⁰

Astrological engravings, however, cannot be assumed to have furnished all the motives in the central panel.⁹¹ Unrelated to astrology is the man with a high-crowned hat at the front of the platform. Seated with his back to the spectator, this man stares at a severed foot on a cloth before him. Here, significantly smaller than Anthony, though closer to the spectator, is the blasphemer who had cursed the saint and lost a member for his impiety.⁹² Behind the gambling group a Negro servant, symbol of the heretic, carries a platter on which stands a toad holding aloft an egg.⁹³ The toad has a long history of demonic association in art and literature where it is often related to the sins of magic and witchcraft.⁹⁴ In relation to St. Anthony the toad had already appeared in an illustrated story popular in German incunabula of the translated *Vitae patrum*.⁹⁵ According to the story, Anthony made his living weaving baskets to be sold to infrequent travelers. One day, under one of his baskets he discovered a toad, which transformed itself into a beautiful temptress who with such a beginning obviously stood no chance of success. The egg also owned demonic associations, as is clear from the flying figure at the top of this panel. Further evidence is found in Book III, chapter 22 of Ficino's *De vita libri tres*: ". . . sicut & ovum putrefactione vel adjustione sit venenosum unde nascuntur vel evadunt immundi quida[m], ignavi, tristes, invidi, daemonibus immundis expositi. . . ."⁹⁶ The egg was also connected with magic and sorcery.⁹⁷ Bosch evidently had like ideas in mind.

The grinning ape-snouted figure at the left of the panel, who carries a wheel with the Florentine pig hanging from it, has a broken pot as his headgear. Now the *Somme le roi* tells us that the wrathful man breaks "pottes, coppes, and disches."⁹⁸ Though he is not choleric at the moment, his associates leave little doubt of his identification with the deadly sin of Wrath.

At the lower right in front of the platform two devils are seen, half in and half out of a large exotic fruit, while a procession moves from this shelter toward the center of the panel. Still attached to the stem of this fruit is a basket in which sits a small naked man with irate face, holding a sword over his head. Bax has related this figure to the punishment meted out for certain minor crimes, in which the culprit was either placed in a basket and elevated above the ground—where the crowd could throw mud or other missiles at him—or placed in a basket hung over

logical manuscript in the Tübingen library (ms M. d.2, fol. 319v, Hauber, pl. 8, fig. 11). The evidence unfortunately does not support the conclusion—too many representations of saturnine monks are found without the T cross, as is the case with the representations from which Bosch borrowed. That Saturn and the melancholic were associated in the late fifteenth century is not questioned ("Saturn is a male planet, in the seventh sphere, dry and cold, though occasionally moist. He is melancholy, partaking of the character of Earth. . . . He is dark and loves dark raiment; he is pious and steadfast. . . . Among metals he governs lead; among temperaments, the melancholic; agriculture and old age are under his protection. The autumn is his season, his day is Saturday. . . . He is friendly to Mars, hostile to the Sun. He has two houses, the Goat by day, the Water-bearer by night. His life of ascendant is in the Scales, his death or descendant is in the Archer. . . .") [Lippmann, p. 3]. A comparably suggestive association may be derived from the representation of the four temperaments, printed by Guyot Marchand at Paris in his *Calendrier des bergers*, first issued in 1491. The figure symbolizing the melancholic temperament (Mâle, . . . fin du moyen âge, p. 299, fig. 163) carries a T staff like Anthony, and furthermore, has a pig as his emblem. The T staff appears in the Lisbon panels but the pig, for obvious reasons, does not. Pig heads are there employed with telling effect to indicate evil, stupidity, and gluttony. Though it is clear from his sources that Bosch thought of Anthony as related to the planets and probably to the temperaments as well, it is not clear, nor is it anywhere evident, that he was dealing with *melancholia per se*.

90. The burning town in the background of the northern woodcut of Mars (Lippmann, pl. C.III) differs from the Italian engravings where haystacks are on fire; the former may have been Bosch's source for the burning village. The towers rising directly from the water in the northern woodcut of Luna (Lippmann, pl. C.VII) may be the artistic source for the ruined tower to the right of Anthony's retreat.

91. For another assertion of Bosch's use of elements from astrology, see Andrew Pigler, "Astrology and Jerome Bosch," *Burlington Magazine*, XCII, 566, 1950, pp. 132-136.

92. See Jozef Morawski, *La légende de saint Antoine ermite. Histoire, poésie, art, folklore. Avec une vie inconnue de s. Antoine en vers français du XIV^e siècle et des extraits d'une "Chronique antonienne" inédite*, Poznán, 1939, pp. 117f., for popular tales of the fate of those who cursed the saint and were struck subsequently with St. Anthony's Fire. The high-crowned hat of the man appeared earlier on the head of the St.-Germain-en-Laye charlatan. Blasphemy is a sin of the tongue, hence, according to the *Somme le roi*, allied to Gluttony (Francis, p. 68).

93. A figure with similar evil connotations bears a platter with a swan on it in Bosch's *Marriage at Cana*, Boymans Museum, Rotterdam.

94. See note 17.

95. Hain 8609, fol. 16f.; also cf. Hain 8605, 8608, etc.

96. Ficino, *op.cit.*, p. 295.

97. Charonneau-Lassay, *Le bestiaire du Christ*, pp. 676f.

98. Francis, p. 25.

the water, in which case he was given a sword so that he could cut the rope and free himself but not without a ducking as the inevitable result.⁹⁹ This pugnacious figure, and the crane in shoulder armor next to him, may be considered as aspects of Wrath. A nearby donkey may have been included in the group because of its reputation for stubbornness, though it also had the symbolic aspect of Sloth.¹⁰⁰ The procession is headed by the harping, skulled monster in armor riding on the back of a plucked goose with a sheep's face. Death, of course, is implied by the skull and winding sheet seen in the long, trailing cloth covering this fantastic vision. It is clearly allied to stupidity: "sheep's head," "plucked goose"—these are not terms suggesting sagacity. Bosch's moral is equally clear: stupidity, pugnacity, stubbornness, and folly; all lead to Death, and all are led by it.¹⁰¹ Taken as a whole, the group constitutes a parody, or rather a Boschian castigation, of the vanity and folly of knights and their chivalrous ideals. Chivalry held up to ridicule in an inverted world is a frequent parody in the drolleries found in Flemish manuscripts even as late as Bosch's own day.¹⁰² Without doubt he derived his group from a manuscript illumination depicting the sortie of a mounted contestant from his tent, surrounded by equerries, to participate in a tourney of love; with this he united the wall-riding harp player from the northern Venus woodcut. But the models received a drastic transformation; this dour condemnation of the conventions of courtly love and chivalric ideals takes place not only in a topsy-turvy world, expressed with morbid fantasy, but in a stupid and malignant one, full of perils, vanity, folly, and sin.

In the water before the platform are several nautical forms whose meaning escapes convincing identification. Above these a devilish trio stands at the right edge of the platform. Pig-snouted and tonsured, a demonic priest reads from a book while two other demons listen. The book is not his, but belongs to Anthony. The motive of a demon with the book of the saint appears contemporaneously in the art of Grünewald and Bernardo Parentino. Apparently of Italian origin, it can be traced back to an Italianate manuscript of ca. 1410.¹⁰³ A rent in the priest's robe reveals a skeleton underneath, as well as Bosch's awareness of Italian iconographic tradition. The cowled attendant demons reinforce ideas visible in other parts of the triptych; the weasel-headed demon wears an inverted funnel similar to that on the skating figure of Sloth on the left wing, the other demon is stork-headed and his crown a nest with a single egg. The general outline of a further denunciation of corrupt clergy and corrupt monks emerges.

To the right is a group of riders derived in part from astrological representations. The transformed hunter with a bird at his wrist may be a representation of one of the Seven Deadly Sins, for it was common in the late fifteenth century to depict them as mounted riders, sometimes armored, and occasionally carrying birds on their arms.¹⁰⁴ Possibly this is a symbol of *Superbia*, or Pride, whose steed is Flattery, whose horn represents cruelty, and who is equipped with spurs. Such a figure—female, however—is described in Guillaume de Deguileville's popular late mediaeval moral treatise, the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*.¹⁰⁵ Other riders in this Antichrist group

99. Bax, p. 67. It is also related to the mediaeval legend of Virgil and the Roman princess (cf. the engraving of Lucas van Leyden).

100. "La Paresse peut être symbolisée par l'âne, non pas que l'âne soit paresseux de sa nature, mais l'âne aime le charbon; or le charbon avec ses piquants est l'image des tentations qui passe dans les rêves de la Paresse et lui font de temps en temps sentir leur aiguillon" (Mâle, . . . *fin du moyen âge*, p. 332).

101. Bax's interpretation (p. 69) of the goose, the beaver to its left, the two deer beyond, and the rat swimming in the water in front of the platform, as lovers of drink, as bacchantes, is not convincing.

102. See H. W. Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, London, Studies of the Warburg Institute, Vol. 20, 1952, pp. 166f.

103. For details, see the present writer's "Some Grünewald Sources," *Art Quarterly*, xix, 2, 1956, pp. 108f., figs. 1, 2, 5.

104. See Saxl, *passim*, for armored knights; for mounted riders with birds, etc., see Mâle, . . . *fin du moyen âge*, figs. 178-185, 189-192. *Neid* rides a horse in Johann Baemler's *Ein schöne materi von den Siben Todsünden un von den Syben Tugende*, published at Augsburg, November 15, 1474 (Albert Schramm, *Der Bilderschmuck der Frühdrucke*, Leipzig, 1923, III, fig. 222).

105. Printed at Haarlem by Jacobus Bellaert in 1486 (*Boek van den pelgherym*, Hain-Copinger 3962), by Vérard in 1499, etc. In the English translation (F. J. Furnival and Katharine B. Locock, eds., *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, Englished by John Lydgate, A.D. 1426 . . . , Early English Text Society, Extra Series, nos. 77, 83, 92, pp. 346ff.) the sins are, as elsewhere, hags with the exception of Wrath

may represent other sins but exact identification remains uncertain. Somewhat comparable to the different levels of interpretation characteristic of mediaeval thought is the seeming relationship of these figures to the castigation of Chivalry depicted at the lower left of the panel.

A tower rising from the water at the right of Anthony's abode is ornamented with scenes that Tolnay thought illustrated the triumph of faith over heresy.¹⁰⁶ Lowest on the tower is a dimly discerned scene of a hunter preceded by a dog and a deer. Immediately above is the scene of the return of the emissaries to Hebron bearing the grapes of Canaan, a prototype of Baptism according to the *Biblia pauperum*.¹⁰⁷ Above the emissaries an ape seated on a daislike drum receives the offerings of a swan, a kid or lamb, and a cow.¹⁰⁸ An owl, that popular mediaeval symbol of the heretic, peers out of a dark hole at the left.¹⁰⁹ The worship of false gods is indicated here rather than a witches' sabbath or Black Mass, in which the Devil normally presided in the form of a goat.¹¹⁰ The worship of the ape (i.e., folly, which Bosch equates with sin) seems to symbolize the renunciation of "that Faith which is theirs by the Sacrament of Baptism" mentioned in the Bull of 1484 of Pope Innocent VIII. And the prototype of that baptism is found immediately below.¹¹¹ According to the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, the crowning scene of Moses receiving the tablets of the Law is a prefiguration of the Descent of the Holy Spirit, while the scene of the dancers about the Golden Calf placed at a lower level was considered by Tolnay as the dispersal of its worshipers, and thus a prefiguration of the Fall of the Idols.¹¹² One must question Tolnay's conception of this crowning scene on the tower upon noticing that the figures are dancing quite actively and *not* being dispersed. Illustrations to Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* seem to have provided the model for the dancing figures (Fig. 14). Brant had equated sin, dancing, Satan, and Venus:

"Wie dantz/ mit sund entsprungen sy
Und ich kan mercken / und betracht
Das es der tufel hat vffbracht
Do er das gulden kalb erdaht
Vnd schüff das got wart gantz veraht/
Noch vil er mit zu wegen bringt
Uss dantzen vil vnratts entspringt
So ist hochfart / vnd üppikeyt
Und für louff der vnlutterkeyt
So schleyfft man Venus by der hend
So hatt all erberkeyt eyn end/""¹¹³

Except for the hunting of the deer and the worship of false gods, the scenes of the ruined tower are taken from the Old Testament. Seemingly Bosch depicted not the Christian fortress of Faith, but the incompleteness and error of the Old Testament. Despite Tolnay's belief, the triumph of faith over heresy cannot be found on the ruined tower. As in the gradual destruction of the

who is an armed man looking like a hedgehog (cf. the hedgehog behind Anthony on the right wing of the Lisbon triptych), has a steel saw in his mouth and is as venomous as a toad (*ibid.*, p. 418).

106. Tolnay, p. 29.

107. *ibid.*

108. The white-feathered but black-fleshed swan also appears on the bordello sign in the *Prodigal Son*, and on the platter in the *Marriage at Cana*, both by Bosch, and both in the Boymans Museum, Rotterdam.

109. Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore*, pp. 166, 177f., 181.

110. The vigor of this tradition is felt as late as the time of Goya; cf. his *Witches' Sabbath*, in the Prado Museum, Madrid, where a goat-headed demon dominates.

111. The artistic basis for this scene may lie in two wood-

cuts cited by Bax, figs. 120, 121.

112. Tolnay, *loc.cit.*

113. Sebastian Brant, *Das Narrenschiff*, *ed.cit.*, p. 151; Zeydel's translation (pp. 204f.) is as follows:

" . . . dance and sin are one in kind,
That very easily 'tis scented:
The dance by Satan was invented
When he devised the golden calf
And taught some men at God to laugh,
And Satan dancing still doth use
To hatch out evil, to abuse.
It stirs up pride, immorality,
And prompts men ever lewd to be.
The pagan Venus gives her hand
And purity is rudely banned.

physical structure of the Synagogue in the *bas-de-pages* of the Calendar pages of the *Belleville Breviary* and its epigenes,¹¹⁴ we are here confronted with the decay of the Old Dispensation, as evil birds flit among its ruins. The ruined tomb and tower inhabited by Anthony (seen as though across the Nile, which explains the water before the platform) has assumed the symbolic character of the Old Dispensation. Unlike the earlier manuscripts there is no apposite construction to symbolize the New Dispensation. But the New is present, even though in affirmation it seems timid and even tentative. Almost obscured by its darkness, in the chapel behind Anthony the blessing figure of Christ stands beside the altar, upon which a single taper burns before a sculptured crucifix with the figure of Christ upon it. The blessing gestures of Anthony and Christ are identical. Here is the response, even before it is uttered, to Anthony's reproachful, "Ubi eras, ubi eras, Jesu bone . . . ?" which came after the worst of the demonic beatings. Christ, both standing and crucified, is not so inexplicable as might be assumed. His appearance to Anthony, either alone, upon a crucifix, or on a crucifix held before Him by God the Father, is common in scenes of Anthony's temptations, though the event took place after the demons were dispersed and Anthony's dwelling restored. In so altering the sequence of events Bosch has again taken liberties with the account of St. Anthony's life and tribulations. Further, by replacing the heavenly vision with the earthly appearance of Christ, the painter has clearly expressed his inherent emphasis upon naturalism. It heightens the visual effect of his supernatural beings, good and bad, and particularly the latter because they are prominently placed. But in making the visionary concrete, his allusion to Anthony's later salvation by Christ results in the religiously most important figure being reduced to an artistically subordinate accessory. Owing to his insistent naturalism, Bosch's natural and supernatural worlds so interpenetrate that they lose their separate identities. Distinctions between his figures also tend to break down; despite their varied exteriors they have the same inherent meaning of evil. Anthony and Christ are the exceptions, but this fantastic world envelops them as well, and their existence outside of it is hardly conceivable. No ennobling act or attitude beyond the conventional sign of blessing separates them from the Boschian crew. With the crossed nimbus almost indiscernible in the darkness of the chapel, the greatest attention and therefore importance adheres to the artistically prominent figure. In consequence, Bosch has not merely elevated Anthony to a position of equality with Christ, he has unwittingly raised him to an even higher position. That Bosch was reputed to be a heretic, as Fray Joseph de Sigüenza relates,¹¹⁵ may be attributed to this and to similar artistic ideas.

In the air above the ruined tomb two fantastic airships fly by. One mounts a crescent, symbol of the Turk and of heresy, the other reveals a decorative half-round device in its rigging similar to that on the staff of the goading soldier on the exterior of the left wing. The air is clearly a region controlled by demons, as can be seen from the devils flying to assist in burning the village at the left. A fierce fire rages. In the midst of it demons topple the church tower, possibly a warning of the coming of Antichrist.¹¹⁶ A woman in the foreground, unconcerned with the catastrophic events going on behind her, washes her clothes in the stream as a mounted procession crosses a bridge nearby. The sky above is filled with strange portent, and flashes of flame. A toad flies by on a winged egg, a torch at the end of the long pole in his hand. High in the sky at the extreme left a strange cavalcade is led by a gaunt demon mounted on a flying fish. Several horsemen with banners are dimly discerned through the murk; these are night riders, as Bax thought, but they have no connection with Carnival.¹¹⁷ They are horsemen of the Apocalypse come to visit their plagues and torments upon the living; the ultimate cataclysm is near. Though transformed

^{114.} See Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, pp. 33f.

^{115.} Tolnay, p. 76.

^{116.} Cf. fig. 9. In the copy of the Casanatensis MS in the Wellcome Historical Medical Library, London (MS 5000) the

copyist liked the motif so well that he repeated it on folios 5r, 6r, 16v, 20v, 21v, 27r. I wish to thank Dr. F. N. L. Poynter for his kindness in furnishing these folio numbers.

^{117.} Bax, p. 104.

by Bosch, the leader of this aerial cavalcade, with a bow over his shoulder, can be recognized as probably inspired by the bow-carrying right-hand figure of Dürer's famous woodcut of the *Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* (Fig. 2).¹¹⁸

One cannot sufficiently emphasize the cosmic character of this overwhelming conception of the Temptations of St. Anthony. Air, earth, fire, water, heat and cold, wet and dry; everything on earth and in the heavens has its place in Bosch's synthesis of the beliefs and fears of mediaeval man.

Astrology and the Seven Deadly Sins contributed the chief elements in this synthetic expression. All the branches of the Sins seem to have been given pictorial shape though some still escape identification.¹¹⁹ The present relationship between the Seven Deadly Sins and the Apocalypse was not neglected in mediaeval thought: the seven heads of the apocalyptic beast were allied to the seven sins.¹²⁰ Synthesis does not stop here; the apocalyptic element has been allied to Antichrist. And the planets too enter into this grand pictorial summa of mediaeval belief. Possibly Robert Grosseteste's *Templum domini* or some work related to it was the basis for the amalgam seen in the Lisbon triptych. Grosseteste had related each planet to a specific sin, and to specific diseases. Saturn was allied with Sloth, Sol with Pride, Luna with Envy, Mars with Wrath, Mercury with Avarice, Venus with Lust, and Jupiter with Gluttony.¹²¹ Though not all the planets are in evidence in Bosch's work, there is a sufficient number coupled to the Seven Deadly Sins (and each of these has been represented at least once) to permit the assumption that such a synthesis underlies the iconographic program of the Lisbon *Temptation of St. Anthony*. This synthesizing attitude also governed Bosch's unification of the two major temptation themes into a single comprehensive form.

It is further evident that he represented the Saint as prey to all those things which stirred and frightened the minds of his contemporaries. Fear of the unknown, dread of malignant powers beyond man's control, a debilitating fatalism engendered by belief in astrology, imminence of the ultimate cataclysm as revealed in the *Apocalypse* and the *Fifteen Signs before Doomsday*, daily enticement to commit one or all of the Seven Deadly Sins; these are at the core of Bosch's interpretation of the way to salvation through proper exercise of freedom of the will and invocation of divine grace, a way shown to all men by the "miles Christi," St. Anthony Abbot. Though under the influence of Saturn and thus predestined according to astrology to an unfortunate life, nevertheless he had overcome the Devil, had been victorious in contest with the Seven Deadly Sins, and surmounted the evil effects of the planets.

Bosch's moralizing in paint is possibly as original as the form it takes. It is conceivable, however, that it stemmed from some clerical figure, such as Denys the Carthusian. His *Quatuor novissima* reproduces almost word for word the vision of Tondalis which Bosch had already illustrated on the right wing of the Haywagon triptych in the Escorial.¹²² Denys, last of the great scholastics, companion of Nicolas of Cusa, had tremendous influence upon his age. It is not unreasonable to suppose that his influence was at its greatest at 's-Hertogenbosch, near which he resided until close to his death in 1471. Unfortunately his writings on sorcery, magic, and heresy have been lost. These might have proved of immense value for a study of Bosch. But responsibility for the numerous combinations of ideas presented in the Lisbon panels must be attributed to collaboration with a scholastic mind steeped in the complex symbolism of the late fifteenth century. The heterogeneous elements suggest strongly that the painter has illustrated, has transferred to a painted panel, ideas literary in essence. Evidence for belief in a dictated literary program rises

118. Willi Kurth, *The Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer*, N.Y., n.d., fig. 109.

119. For the Sins and all their branches according to the *Somme le roi*, see Francis, pp. 11-68.

120. Francis, p. 10. The theme is a common one in mediaeval manuscripts.

121. The diseases of Sloth are *peraditus* and *caro mortua*; Pride has *ydropicus* and *inflatio*; Envy, *febrilitas* and *venenum*;

Wrath, *demoniatus* and *putredo*; Avarice, *insensibilis* and *dolor*; Gluttony, *leprosus* and *superfluous sanguis*; and the diseases associated with Lust are *fluens sanguine* and *fetor* (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS. Lat. 543, fol. 72; also cf. Brit. Mus. Add. MS 32578, fols. 105v-116: both cited in Morton Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins*, p. 233).

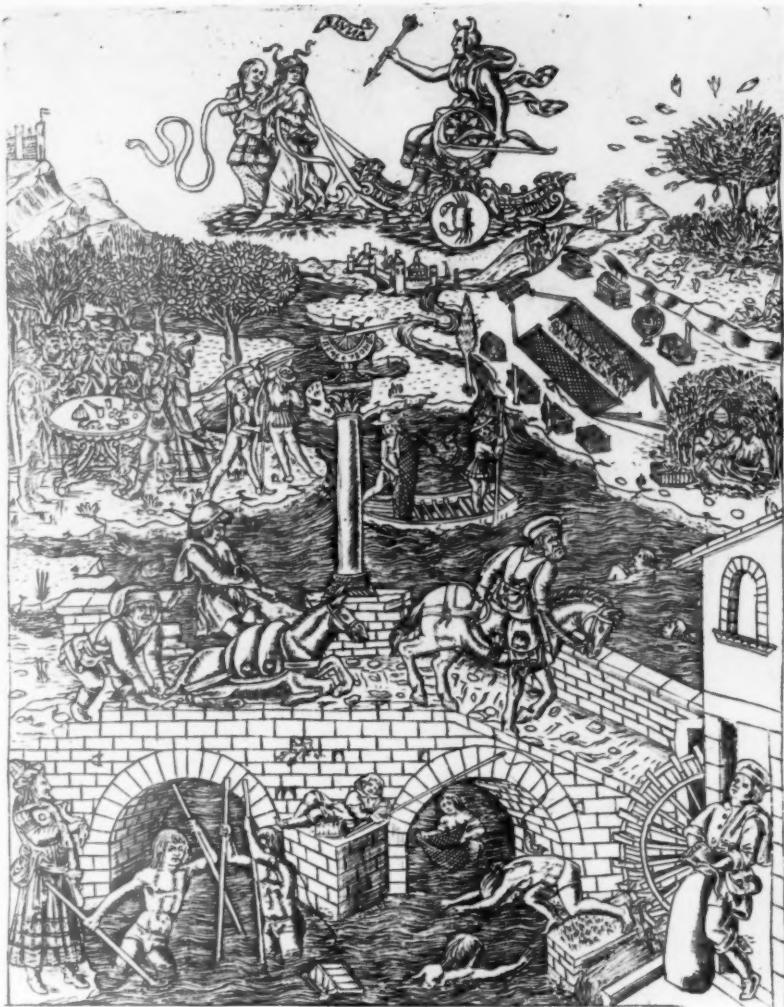
122. For Denys's *Quatuor novissima*, see Mâle, . . . *fin du moyen âge*, p. 468.

from comparison of the Lisbon panels with the Hermits Retable in Venice, which shows far less abundant motives, and from comparison with the Escorial painting of *Anthony in contemplation*. Almost none of the Lisbon devices appears in this latter work; the Saint sits in meditation unaware of the few demonic reminiscences sparsely scattered about.

The striking fantasy of real and imagined anthropomorphic and zoomorphic forms depicted with an overwhelming mass of naturalistic detail, enabled the Lisbon triptych to supplant all previous Flemish models of Anthony's torments. Bosch's unnatural yet material beings, pieced together with artistic rather than natural logic, were a perfect vehicle for his serious, moralizing exaltation of basic Christian ideals, but this forceful vehicle was too individualistic to achieve the same end in the hands of followers who in their imitations fell into the trap of delightful detail.

Though Bosch denied the Renaissance by asserting a truly mediaeval spirit, his very individualism shows he could not transcend the rising forces of his day.

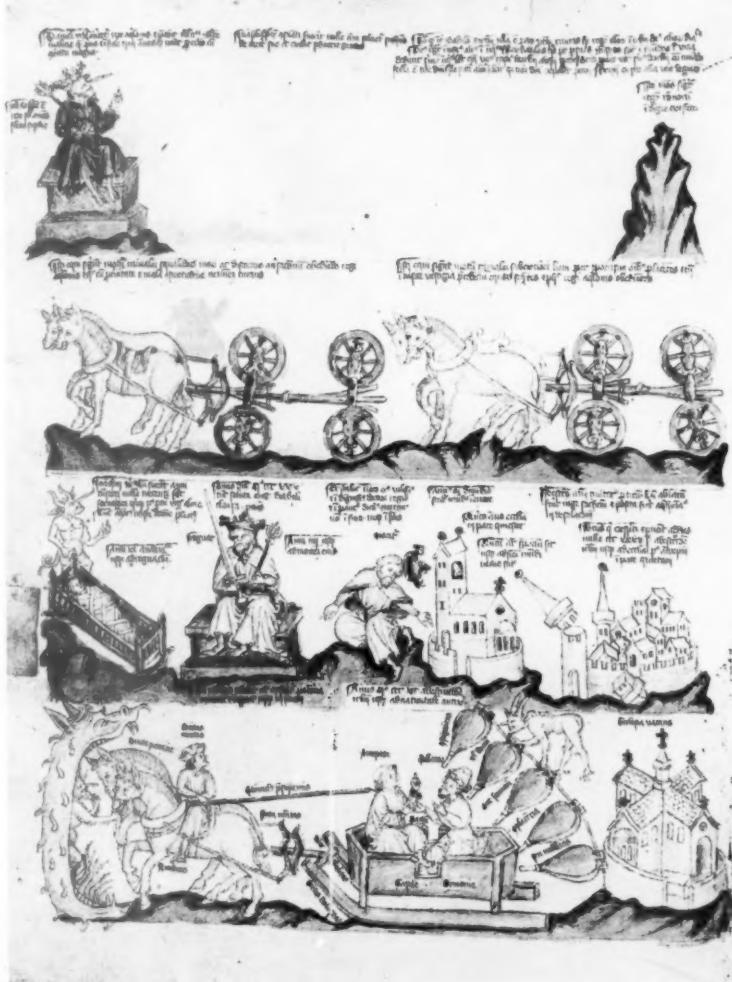
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8. *Luna*, Florentine engraving, ca. 1460 (photo: MFA)



9. *Saturn*, Florentine engraving, ca. 1460



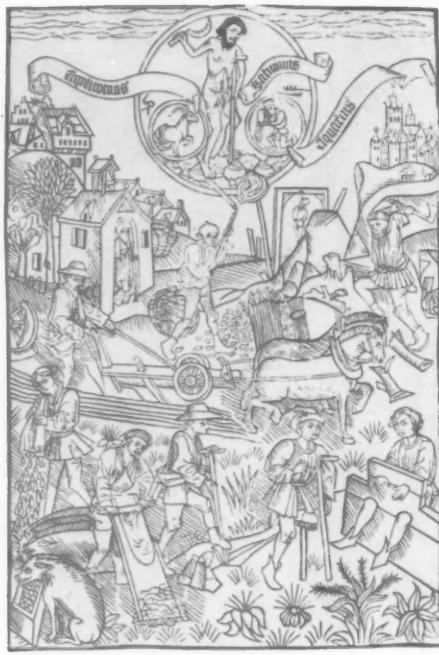
10. Events from the life of Antichrist . . . , German, XV cent. Rome, Bibl. Casanatensis, MS 1404, fol. 30v



11. *Jupiter*, Florentine engraving, ca. 1460



12. *Venus*, Netherlandish woodcut, xv cent.



13. *Saturn*, Netherlandish woodcut, xv cent.



14. Illustration to Chapter 61 (Of Dancing)
from Brant's *Narrenschiff*, Basel, 1494



1. Wassily Kandinsky, First Non-Objective Watercolor (1910)
Paris, Collection of Mme Nina Kandinsky

THE AESTHETIC THEORIES OF WASSILY KANDINSKY AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO THE ORIGIN OF NON-OBJECTIVE PAINTING*

PETER SELZ

At a time when so much painting is in the non-objective vein, it seems relevant to investigate the aesthetic theories of the artist who was the first champion of non-objective art, or "concrete art,"¹ as he preferred to call it.

It is possible that non-objective paintings may have been painted prior to Kandinsky's first non-objective watercolor (Fig. 1) of 1910 and his more ambitious *Impressions*, *Improvisations*, and *Compositions* of 1911. There are abstractions by Arthur Dove, for example, which are dated 1910. Picabia and Kupka began working in a non-objective idiom not much later,² and Delaunay painted his non-objective *Color Disks* in 1912.³ In Germany Adolf Hoelzel ventured into non-objective painting as early as 1910, but whereas for Hoelzel it was merely experiment in additional possibilities, Kandinsky made non-objectivity the very foundation of his pictorial imagery.⁴

Kandinsky formulated his ideas of non-objective painting over an extended period of time. Notes for his essay, *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*,⁵ date back to 1901 while the book was completed in 1910. His thoughts were continued in his essay "Über die Formfrage" for the famous almanac *Der blaue Reiter*.⁶ Both essays were first published in 1912.⁷ These essays are to a considerable extent based on previous aesthetic theory and were very much in keeping with the avant-garde thinking of the prewar years. They also constitute almost a programmatic manifesto for the expressionist generation.⁸

* This article is based on a chapter of the author's forthcoming book, *German Expressionist Painting*, now in publication at the University of California Press. It was originally a part of a doctoral dissertation, "German Expressionist Painting from Its Inception to the First World War," University of Chicago, 1954. The author wishes to acknowledge his debt particularly to Drs. Ulrich Middeldorf and Joshua Taylor, under whose supervision this dissertation was prepared. The translations are by the author unless otherwise indicated in the footnotes.

1. Wassily Kandinsky, "Abstrakt oder Konkret," *Tentoonstelling abstracte Kunst*, Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum, 1938.

2. Kupka's *Red and Blue Disks* in the Museum of Modern Art, New York, is dated 1911-1912, but it is just possible that this date was added later.

3. Germain Bazin in his biographical notes to René Huyghe's *Les Contemporains*, Paris, Editions Pierre Tisné, 1949, cites 1914 as the year in which Delaunay did the first non-objective painting in France. This author is able to predate this by two years, since he has seen Delaunay's *Color Disks* (Delaunay Studio, Paris), a completely non-objective painting, dated 1912. It remains possible, however, that Picabia did non-objective paintings in Paris before then. Recently it has been maintained that the self-taught Lithuanian artist, M. K. Čiurlionis, painted non-objective pictures between 1905 and 1910 (Aleksis Rannit, "M. K. Čiurlionis," *Das Kunstwerk*, 1, 1946-47, pp. 46-48, and *idem*, "Un pittore astratto prima di Kandinsky," *La Biennale*, VIII, 1952, no. 8). Čiurlionis' work is now in the Čiurlionis Gallery in Kaunas. The repro-

ductions included in Mr. Rannit's articles on Čiurlionis, however, are highly symbolic abstractions, verging on the fantastic art of Kubin, Redon, or some Surrealists.

4. Hans Hildebrandt, *Adolph Hoelzel*, Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer [1952], p. 14.

5. Kandinsky, *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*, New York, Wittenborn, Schultz, 1947. This book was first published by Piper in Munich as *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* in 1912. The first English translation was undertaken by Michael Sadleir under the title *The Art of Spiritual Harmony* (London, 1914). The first American edition, called *On the Spiritual in Art*, appeared in 1946 (New York, Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation). The 1947 edition, authorized by Mme. Kandinsky and translated by Francis Golffing, Michael Harrison and Ferdinand Ostertag, will be used here because it is much closer to the original text.

6. Kandinsky and Franz Marc (eds.), *Der blaue Reiter*, Munich, R. Piper and Co., 1912.

7. In 1926 Kandinsky published his most systematic treatise, *Punkt und Linie zur Fläche* (Bauhaus Book, ix, Munich, Albert Langen Verlag, 1926). This book, translated as *Point and Line to Plane* by Howard Dearstyne and Hilla Rebay (New York, Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, 1947), was written at the Bauhaus and elucidates most clearly Kandinsky's thinking during this later period. It falls, however, beyond the realm of discussion in this study.

8. "If *Der blaue Reiter*, published by R. Piper, is taken together with Kandinsky's *Das Geistige in der Kunst*, as a unity, then this double volume is just as much the book of

Kandinsky's particular didactic style makes his writings difficult to read and analyze. Kenneth Lindsay in his study of Kandinsky's theories described Kandinsky's peculiar literary style as follows: "Characteristic of Kandinsky's writing is the technique of breaking up the given topic into opposites or alternatives. These opposites or alternatives usually follow directly after the posing of the problem and are numbered. Often they suggest further sets of opposites and alternatives. The sequence of thought is flexible, sometimes abrupt and cross-tracking, and frequently associative. The dominating relativity of the thought process contrasts strongly with the conclusions, which are often positively stated."⁹

THE REJECTION OF MATERIAL REALITY

Kandinsky was always strongly predisposed toward sense impressions. In his autobiography he indicates that he experienced objects, events, even music primarily in terms of color, and he did not conceive of color in its physical and material aspects but rather in its emotional effect. During his scientific studies he lost faith in the rational scientific method and felt that reality could be fully comprehended only by means of creative intuition.

Kandinsky was not alone in his rejection of positivism and pragmatism at the turn of the century. Generally it might be said that "the twentieth century has in its first third taken up a position of reaction against classic rationalism and intellectualism."¹⁰

Even in the pure sciences the value of the intuitive as against the purely experimental was stressed during the early part of the twentieth century, so that by 1925 Werner Heisenberg was able to formulate the "Principle of Uncertainty," stating that there is a limit to the precision with which we can observe nature scientifically. This did not mean a return to metaphysics, but it indicated the inherent limitations of quantitative observation.

Kandinsky's doubt of the ultimate possibilities of quantitative analysis was shared by many philosophers also. His philosophy finds perhaps its closest parallel in the thinking of Henri Bergson, who taught that true reality can be grasped only through artistic intuition, which he contrasted to intellectual conception. The intellect, according to Bergson, is man's tool for rational action, but "art, whether it be painting or sculpture, poetry or music, has no other object than to brush aside the utilitarian symbols, the conventional and socially accepted generalities, in short, everything that veils reality from us, in order to bring us face to face with reality itself."¹¹

Similarly Kandinsky turns away from the representation of visible objects in his attempt to penetrate beneath the epidermis of appearances to the ultimate or "inner" reality.¹² As early as his first encounter in Moscow with the paintings by Monet, Kandinsky felt that the material object was not a necessary element in his painting: "I had the impression that here painting itself

the prewar years as Hildebrandt's *Problem der Form* was the book of the turn of the century. The separation of the two generations is already made clear in the title, which emphasizes form in the one and spirit in the other." Hans Hildebrandt, *Die Kunst des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts* (Handbuch der Kunsthissenschaft), Potsdam-Wildpark, 1924, p. 382.

9. Kenneth Lindsay, "An Examination of the Fundamental Theories of Wassily Kandinsky," unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1951. Dr. Lindsay establishes incisive relationships between Kandinsky's theories and his paintings. While doing research in Kandinsky's studio in Neuilly-sur-Seine during the spring of 1950, I had adequate opportunity to compare my interpretations with those of Lindsay, which has led to a fruitful exchange of ideas. In a good many instances our interpretations differ, especially as to the placing of emphasis.

I am also indebted to Dr. Klaus Brisch for many provocative ideas on Kandinsky. I unfortunately have not been able to see Brisch's doctoral dissertation, "Wassily Kandinsky: Untersuchung zur Entstehung der gegenstandslosen Malerei,"

University of Bonn, 1955.

10. Thomas Mann, *The Living Thoughts of Schopenhauer*, New York, Longmans Green and Co., 1929, p. 29.

11. Henri Bergson, *Laughter*, New York, Macmillan, 1911, p. 157.

12. Very much the same idea is expressed by Franz Marc: "I am beginning more and more to see behind or, to put it better, through things, to see behind them something which they conceal, for the most part cunningly, with their outward appearance by hoodwinking man with a façade which is quite different from what it actually covers. Of course, from the point of view of physics this is an old story. . . . The scientific interpretation has powerfully transformed the human mind; it has caused the greatest type-change we have so far lived to see. Art is indisputably pursuing the same course, in its own way, certainly; and the problem, our problem, is to discover the way." (Franz Marc, diary entry, Christmas 1914, in Peter Thoene [pseud.], *Modern German Art*, Harmondsworth, Pelican Books, 1938.)

comes into the foreground; I wondered if it would not be possible to go further in this direction. From then on I looked at the art of ikons with different eyes; it meant that I had 'got eyes' for the abstract in art."¹³ Later he wrote: "The impossibility and, in art, the purposelessness of copying an object, the desire to make the object express itself, are the beginnings of leading the artist away from 'literary' color to artistic, i.e. pictorial aims."¹⁴

Agreeing with earlier writers such as the symbolists, Van de Velde, and Endell, Kandinsky felt that art must express the spirit but that in order to accomplish this task it must be dematerialized. Of necessity, this meant creating a new art form.

It was not only for philosophic reasons that Kandinsky wished to forsake objective reality. Psychological reasons, it seems, also played their part. Speaking about his period of study at the Munich Art Academy, he wrote: "The naked body, its lines and movement, sometimes interested me, but often merely repelled me. Some poses in particular were repugnant to me, and I had to force myself to copy them. I could breathe freely only when I was out of the studio door and in the street once again."¹⁵

It is significant that the human body, which is found as an almost universal motif in the art forms of most cultures, is here eschewed as subject matter.¹⁶ It is true that the art of the west emphasized the nonhuman aspects during the nineteenth century, when painters turned their attention to still life and landscape. The conscious rejection of the human form, however, is certainly psychologically significant. Indeed a psychological interpretation of the reasons for this response might give us a more profound understanding of the non-objective artist and his work.

From the point of view of the history of aesthetics it is also interesting that Kandinsky's rejection of the forms of nature occurred at approximately the same time as Worringer's publication, *Abstraction and Empathy*. Here Worringer submits the theory that the cause for abstraction is man's wish to withdraw from the world or his antagonism toward it. The lifeless form of a pyramid or the suppression of space in Byzantine mosaics clearly shows that what motivated the creation of these works of art was a need for refuge from the vast confusion of the object world—the desire for "a resting-place in the flight of phenomena."¹⁷ Worringer's thesis of abstraction as one of the bases of artistic creation preceded Kandinsky's first non-objective painting by about two years, and it is important to keep in mind that the two men knew each other in Munich during this critical period.

Kandinsky himself maintained that the immediate cause of his first essay at non-objective painting was the shock of suddenly entering his studio to see one of his paintings lying on its side on the easel and being struck with its unusual beauty. This incident, he believed, made it clear to him that the representation of nature was superfluous in his art.¹⁸ The emphasis on the element of distance in the aesthetic experience found a parallel in the theories of the contemporary

13. Kandinsky, "Notebooks," quoted in Nina Kandinsky, "Some Notes on the Development of Kandinsky's Painting," in Kandinsky, *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*, p. 10.

14. Kandinsky, *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*, p. 48.

15. Kandinsky, "Text Artista," *Wassily Kandinsky Memorial*, New York, Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, 1945, p. 65 (hereafter cited as "Text Artista"). This is Kandinsky's autobiography, written in 1913 and first published under the title *Rückblicke* by Der Sturm in Berlin in the same year.

16. Franz Marc, turning toward non-objective painting shortly before his death, gave a very similar reason: "Very early in life I found man ugly; the animal seemed to me more beautiful and cleaner, but even in it I discovered so much that was repelling and ugly that my art instinctively and by inner force became more schematic and abstract." (Marc, letter, April 12, 1915, in *Briefe, Aufzeichnungen und Aphorismen*, Berlin, 1920, II, p. 50.)

In this respect Kandinsky and Marc differed decidedly from their associate in the Blaue Reiter, Paul Klee, who was always concerned with creating symbols to interpret man and the forces of nature: "The naked body is an altogether suitable object. In art classes I have gradually learned something of it from every angle. But now I will no longer project some plan of it, but will proceed so that all its essentials, even those hidden by optical perspective, will appear upon the paper. And thus a little uncontested personal property has already been discovered, a style has been created." (Paul Klee, June, 1902, "Extracts from the Journal of the Artist," in Margaret Miller [ed.], *Paul Klee*, New York, Museum of Modern Art, 1945, pp. 8-9.)

17. Wilhelm Worringer, *Abstraktion und Einfühlung*, Munich: R. Piper and Co., 1948, p. 29. First published Munich, 1908. English edition: *Abstraction and Empathy*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1953.

18. Kandinsky, "Text Artista," p. 61.

English psychologist, Edward Bullough: "The sudden view of things from their reverse, usually unnoticed, side, comes upon us as a revelation, and such revelations are precisely those of art."¹⁹

Kandinsky felt, however, that he could not immediately turn to "absolute painting." In a letter to Hilla Rebay,²⁰ he pointed out that at that time he was still alone in the realization that painting ultimately must discard the object. A long struggle for increasing abstraction from nature was still necessary. In 1910 he was still writing: "Purely abstract forms are in the reach of few artists at present; they are too indefinite for the artist. It seems to him that to limit himself to the indefinite would be to lose possibilities, to exclude the human and therefore to weaken expression."²¹

But he was already pointing out at that time that the abstract idea was constantly gaining ground, that the choice of subjects must originate from the inner necessity of the artist; material, or objective, form may be more or less superfluous. He insists that the artist must be given complete freedom to express himself in any way that is necessary according to the "principle of inner necessity." He looked hopefully to the future where the eventual predominance of the abstract would be inevitable in the "epoch of great spirituality."²²

In 1910 Kandinsky painted his first abstract painting, a water color. The first large non-objective oil dates from 1911, and throughout 1912 he did both "objective" and "concrete" paintings. After 1912 there were very few "objective" works. His art had become completely free from nature and like music its meaning was now meant to be inherent in the work itself and independent of external objects.

Kandinsky distinguished what he called "objective" art from "concrete" art by distinguishing between the means chosen by the artist. In "objective" art both artistic and natural elements are used, resulting in "mixed art," while in "concrete" art exclusively artistic means are used, resulting in "pure art."²³ In a short article, published in 1935, he gave a lucid example of this distinction: "There is an essential difference between a line and a fish. And that is that the fish can swim, can eat and be eaten. It has the capacities of which the line is deprived. These capacities of the fish are necessary extras for the fish itself and for the kitchen, but not for the painting. And so, not being necessary they are superfluous. That is why I like the line better than the fish—at least in my painting."²⁴

The element of representation is thus rejected by Kandinsky for his art. He insists that a picture's quality lies in what is usually called form: its lines, shapes, colors, planes, etc., without reference to anything outside of the canvas. But here occurs an apparent contradiction in Kandinsky's theory, because he—like expressionists in general—did not believe that a picture must be evaluated from its formal aspects. Kandinsky and the expressionists did not agree with "formalists" like Roger Fry, who believe that the aesthetic emotion is essentially an emotion about form. Seeing Kandinsky's first abstractions, Fry concerned himself only with their form: ". . . one finds that . . . the improvisations become more definite, more logical and more closely knit in structure, more surprisingly beautiful in their color oppositions, more exact in their equilibrium."²⁵

Kandinsky himself takes strong issue with this theory. In his aesthetics the formal aspect of a work of art is as unimportant as its representational quality.

THE INSIGNIFICANCE OF FORM

Form, to Kandinsky, is nothing but the outward expression of the artist's inner needs. Form is matter, and the artist is involved in a constant struggle against materialism. Kandinsky's words

19. Edward Bullough, "Psychical Distance as a Factor in Art and an Aesthetic Principle," *British Journal of Psychology*, v, 1912, pp. 87-118.

20. Kandinsky, letter to Hilla Rebay, January 1937, *Wassily Kandinsky Memorial*, p. 98.

21. Kandinsky, *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*, p. 48.

22. *ibid.*, p. 77.

23. Kandinsky, "Abstrakte Kunst," *Cicerone*, XVII, 1925, pp. 639-647.

24. Kandinsky, "Line and Fish," *Axis*, II, 1935, p. 6.

25. Roger Fry in *The Nation*, August 2, 1913, quoted in Arthur J. Eddy, *Cubists and Post-Impressionism*, Chicago, A. C. McClurg and Co., 1914, p. 117.

are reminiscent of mediaeval thought when he says: "It is the spirit that rules over matter, and not the other way around."²⁶

The artist should not seek salvation in form, Kandinsky warns in his essay, "Über die Formfrage," because form is only an expression of content and is entirely dependent on the innermost spirit. It is this spirit which chooses form from the storehouse of matter, and it always chooses the form most expressive of itself. Content always creates its own appropriate form. And form may be chosen from anywhere between the two extreme poles: the great abstraction and the great realism. Kandinsky then proceeds to prove that these opposites, the abstract and the realistic, are actually identical, and that form is therefore an insignificant concern to the artist. This he does as follows:

In the "great realism" (as exemplified in the art of Henri Rousseau) the external-artificial element of painting is discarded, and the content, the inner feeling of the object, is brought forth primitively and "purely" through the representation of the simple, rough object. Artistic purpose is expressed directly since the painting is not burdened with formal problems. The content is now strongest because it is divested of external and academic concepts of beauty. Kandinsky preferred this "great realism," also found in children's drawings, to the use of distortion, which he felt always aroused literary associations.

Since the "great abstraction" excludes "real" objects, the content is embodied in non-objective form. Thus the "inner sound" of the picture is most clearly manifest. The scaffolding of the object has been removed, as in realism the scaffolding of beauty has been discarded. In both cases we arrive at the spiritual content itself. "The greatest external differentiation becomes the greatest internal identity:

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{Realism} = \text{Abstraction} \\ \text{Abstraction} = \text{Realism}^{\text{27}} \end{array}$$

The hypothesis that the minimum of abstraction can have the most abstract effect, and vice versa, is based by Kandinsky on the postulation that a quantitative decrease can be equal to a qualitative increase: 2 plus 1 can be less than 2 minus 1 in aesthetics. A dot of color, for example, may lose in its *effect* of intensity if its *actual* intensity is increased.²⁸ The pragmatic function of a form and its sentient meaning are dissimilar, yet abstraction and realism are identical.

Kandinsky cites several examples to prove this thesis. A hyphen, for instance, is of practical value and significance in its context. If this hyphen is taken out of its practical-purposeful context and put on canvas, and if it is not used there to fulfill any practical purpose at all—such as the delineation of an object—it then becomes nothing but a line; it is completely liberated from signification and abstracted from all its meaning as a syntactical sign; it is the abstract line itself. At the same time, however, it has also become most real, because now it is no longer a sign but the real line, the object itself.

It may be argued that Kandinsky uses a very narrow definition of both the abstract and the realistic, and that the line may be a great deal more realistic and more meaningful as a sign, such as a hyphen, in its context, than it is as a line only. It is a valid objection to say that this identity of the abstract and the real holds true only in this verbal analogy, and that Kandinsky has not presented logical proof. Kandinsky, however, was not concerned with the correctness of intellectual thought, or with the proof of his spiritual values. He admits: "I have always turned to reason and intellect least of all."²⁹

He concludes his analysis of form by saying: "In principle there is no problem of form."³⁰ The artist who expresses his "soul vibrations" can use any form he wants. Formal rules in aesthetics

26. Kandinsky, "Text Artista," p. 64.

p. 85.

27. Kandinsky, "Über die Formfrage," *Der blaue Reiter*,

28. *ibid.*, p. 84.

29. Kandinsky, "Text Artista," p. 71.

are not only impossible but a great stumbling block to the free expression of spiritual value. It is the duty of the artist to fight against them to clear the way for free expression. Often in the history of art, artists were bogged down by matter and could not see beyond the formal. The nineteenth century was such a period, in which men failed to see the spirit in art as they failed to see it in religion. But to seek art and yet be satisfied with form is equivalent to the contentment with the idol in the quest for God. Form is dead unless it is expressive of content. There cannot be a symbol without expressive value.

In his introduction to the second edition of *Der blaue Reiter* Kandinsky states the aim of the book as "to show by means of examples, practical arrangement and theoretical proof, that the problem of form is secondary in art, that art is above all a matter of content."³¹

Kandinsky understood his own time as being the beginning of a new spiritual age when the abstract spirit was taking possession of the human spirit.³² Now artists would increasingly recognize the insignificance of form *per se*, and realize its relativity, its true meaning as nothing but "the outward expression of inner meaning."

ART THE AFFIRMATION OF THE SPIRIT

We have seen that in Kandinsky's aesthetics form as well as object, the formal and representational aspects of art, have no importance by themselves and are meaningful only insofar as they express the artist's innermost feelings. Only through the expression of the artist's inner emotion can he transmit understanding of true spiritual reality itself. The only "infallible guide" which can carry the artist to "great heights" is the *principle of internal necessity* (italics his).³³ This concept of internal necessity is the core and the basis of Kandinsky's aesthetic theory and becomes a highly significant element in expressionist criticism in general.

The period of spiritual revolution which Kandinsky believed to be approaching, he called the "spiritual turning point." He perceived indications of this period of transition in many cultural manifestations. In the field of religion, for instance, Theosophy was attempting to counteract the materialist evil. In the Theosophical Society, "one of the most important spiritual movements,"³⁴ man seeks to approach the problem of the spirit by the way of inner enlightenment. In the realm of literature he cites Maeterlinck as, "... perhaps one of the first prophets, one of the first reporters and clairvoyants of the *decadence* . . . Maeterlinck creates his atmosphere principally by artistic means. His material machinery . . . really plays a symbolic role and helps to give the inner note. . . . The apt use of a word (in its poetical sense), its repetition, twice, three times, or even more frequently, according to the need of the poem, will not only tend to intensify the internal structure but also bring out unsuspected spiritual properties in the word itself."³⁵

By using pure sound for the most immediate effect upon the reader or listener, the writer depends on prelanguage signs, i.e., sounds which—like music—do not depend on language for their meaning. This level of signification is also the basis of Kandinsky's non-objective painting. In music Kandinsky points to Schönberg's panchromatic scheme, which advocates the full renunciation of functional harmonious progression and traditional form and accepts only those means which lead the composer to the most uncompromising self-expression: "His music leads us to where musical experience is a matter not of the ear, but of the soul—and from this point begins

30. Kandinsky, "Über die Formfrage," in Kandinsky and Marc, *op.cit.*, p. 88.

31. *Der blaue Reiter* (2d ed.), Munich, 1914, p. v.

32. This idea is very similar to Herder's theory of Inspiration: J. G. Herder, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, Leipzig, 1821.

33. Kandinsky, *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*, pp. 51-52.

34. *ibid.*, p. 32. Kandinsky himself—as Lindsay has pointed out ("An Examination of the Fundamental Theories of

Wassily Kandinsky," pp. 208-213)—was not a member of the Theosophical Society. He admired, however, the cosmology of Mme. Blavatzky which attempted to create a significant synthesis of Indian wisdom and western civilization. The anti-materialistic concepts of the Theosophical movement attracted a good many artists and writers yearning for a new religious spirit during the early part of the century. Besides Kandinsky: Piet Mondrian, Hans Arp, Hugo Ball, William Butler Yeats.

35. Kandinsky, *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*, pp. 33-34.

the music of the future."³⁶ Kandinsky conceived of music as an emancipated art, which furthermore had the quality of time-extension and was most effective in inspiring spiritual emotion in the listener. Painting, while still largely dependent on natural form was showing similar signs of emancipation. Picasso's breakdown of volumes and Matisse's free use of color for its own sake were manifestations of the turning point toward a spiritual art.³⁷

How would the artist achieve full spiritual harmony in his composition? Kandinsky pointed out that the painter had two basic means at his disposal—form and color—and that there was always an unavoidable mutual relationship between them.

In his prewar writings he still did not come forth with a thorough analysis of forms as he did later with his systematic *Point and Line to Plane*, yet he was already stating: "Form alone, even though abstract and geometrical, has its internal resonance, a spiritual entity whose properties are identical with the form. A triangle . . . is such an entity, with its particular spiritual perfume."³⁸

But color is the most powerful medium in the hand of the painter. It has a psychic as well as a physical effect upon the observer. It can influence his tactile, olfactory, and especially aural senses, as well as his visual sense, and in chromotherapy it has been shown that "red light stimulates and excites the heart, while blue light can cause temporary paralysis."³⁹ Color is the artist's means by which he can influence the human soul. Its meaning is expressed metaphorically by Kandinsky: "Color is the keyboard, the eyes are the hammers, the soul is the piano with many strings. The artist is the hand that plays, touching one key or another purposively, to cause vibrations of the soul."⁴⁰

Kandinsky then proceeds to develop an elaborate explanation of the psychic effect of color. This contrasts to the more scientific color theories of Helmholtz, Rood, Chevreul and Signac and closely approaches the psychological color theory of Goethe and metaphysics of color of Philipp Otto Runge. Like his romanticist predecessor, Kandinsky believed that color could directly influence the human soul.⁴¹

Blue in Kandinsky's system is the heavenly color; it retreats from the spectator, moving toward its own center. It beckons to the infinite, arousing a longing for purity and the supersensuous. Light blue is like the sound of the flute, while dark blue has the sound of the cello.

Yellow is the color of the earth. It has no profound meaning; it seems to spread out from its own center and advance to the spectator from the canvas. It has the shrill sound of a canary or of a brass horn, and is often associated with the sour taste of lemon.

Green is the mixture of blue and yellow. There the concentricity of blue nullifies the eccentricity of yellow. It is passive and static, and can be compared to the so-called "bourgeoisie," self-satisfied, fat and healthy. In music it is best represented by the placid, long-drawn middle tones of the violin.

White, which was not considered a color by the impressionists, has the spiritual meaning of a color. It is the symbol of a world void of all material quality and substance. It is the color of beginning. It is the "sound" of the earth during the white period of the Ice Age.

Black is like eternal silence. It is without hope. It signifies termination and is therefore the color of mourning.

By the symbolic use of colors combined "according to their spiritual significance," the artist can finally achieve a great composition: "Color itself offers contrapuntal possibilities and, when combined with design, may lead to the great pictorial counterpoint, where also painting achieves composition, and where pure art is in the service of the divine."⁴²

36. *ibid.*, p. 36.

37. *ibid.*, p. 39.

38. *ibid.*, p. 47.

39. *ibid.*, p. 45.

40. *ibid.*

41. The following remarks about color are taken from "The Language of Form and Color," *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*, Chap. vi, pp. 45-67.

42. *ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

Kandinsky's color symbolism is in no way based upon physical laws of color or the psychology of color vision. He himself pointed out when writing about color that "all these statements are the results of empirical feeling, and are not based on exact science."⁴³ This may even explain his own inconsistencies such as his statement in *Concerning the Spiritual in Art* that "red light stimulates and excites the heart"⁴⁴ contradicted by his assertion that "red . . . has brought about a state of partial paralysis."⁴⁵

It is also true that specific colors call forth different associations in people as well as cultures. Specific reactions to specific colors have never been proved experimentally. Max Raphael in his book, *Von Monet bis Picasso*, points out that colors have had altogether different meanings for those individuals most occupied with them. Yellow, for example, signified the earth for Leonardo, had gay, happy characteristics for Goethe, meant friendliness to Kant and heavenly splendor to Van Gogh, suggested the night to Gauguin and aggressiveness to Kandinsky.⁴⁶ We might add that it symbolizes jealousy in German usage, an emotion which is associated with green in English idiom.

Such examples could be increased *ad infinitum* and it is very doubtful that Kandinsky attempted to set down scientific rules for color associations. He was articulating his own personal associations; he stated: "It is clear that all I have said of these simple colors is very provisional and general, and so are the feelings (joy, grief, etc.) which have been quoted as parallels to the colors. For these feelings are only material expressions of the soul. Shades of color, like those of sound, are of a much finer texture and awaken in the soul emotions too fine to be expressed in prose."⁴⁷

In his second significant book, *Point and Line to Plane*, subtitled "A Contribution to the Analysis of the Pictorial Elements," Kandinsky presented his grammar of line, forms, and space in a manner similar to his color theory in *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*.

It is the task of the painter, according to Kandinsky, to achieve the maximum effect by bringing his media, color and form, into orderly and expressive composition. Each art has its own language, and each artist, be he painter, sculptor, architect, writer or composer, must work in his specific medium and bring it to the expression of greatest inner significance. But once painting, for example, is divested of the scaffolding of natural form and becomes completely abstract, the pure law of pictorial construction can be discovered. And then it will be found that pure painting is *internally* closely related to pure music or pure poetry.

SYNTHESIS OF THE ARTS

Kandinsky points out that human beings, because of individual differences, differ in the type of art expression to which they are most receptive. For some it is musical form, for others painting or literature, which causes the greatest aesthetic enjoyment. He also realized that the artist could achieve aesthetic effects in sensory fields not limited to his own medium. He was much interested, for instance, in Scriabin's experiments with sound-color combinations. The re-enforcement of one art form with another by means of synesthesia will greatly increase the final aesthetic effect upon the receptor. The greatest effect can be obtained by the synthesis of all the arts in one "monumental art," which is the ultimate end of Kandinsky's aesthetics.

Kandinsky here continues the nineteenth century tradition—from Herder to Wagner—with its desire for a union of all arts. Kandinsky believes that a synthesis of the arts is possible because in the final analysis all artistic means are identical in their inner meaning: ultimately the external differences will become insignificant and the internal identity of all artistic expression will be dis-

43. *ibid.*, p. 57n.

44. *ibid.*, p. 45.

45. Kandinsky, "Text Artista," p. 75.

46. Max Raphael, *Von Monet bis Picasso*, Munich, 1919, p. 102.

47. Kandinsky, *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*, p. 63.

closed. Each art form causes a certain "complex of soul vibrations." The aim of the synthesis of art forms is the refinement of the soul through the sum-total of these complexes.

In his essay "Über Bühnenkomposition"⁴⁸ and in his "Schematic Plan of Studies and Work of the Institute of Art Culture,"⁴⁹ Kandinsky outlines the possible steps to be taken for the achievement of "monumental art." Present-day drama, opera, ballet are criticized as much as the plastic arts. By discarding external factors in "stage composition,"⁵⁰ particularly the factors of plot, external relationship, and external unity, a greater internal unity can be achieved. Kandinsky then experiments with such a composition, "Der gelbe Klang."⁵¹ There he attempts to combine music, the movement of dancers and of objects, the sound of the human voice (without being tied down to word or language meanings), and the effect of color-tone, as experimented with by Scriabin.

Kandinsky admits that his "stage composition" is weak but believes the principle to be valid. It is necessary to remember, he maintains, that we are still at the very beginning of the great abstract period in art. Materialism still has its grasp on modern activity and is not as yet completely vanquished. But the new, "the spiritual in art," already manifests itself in most fields of creativity.

Kandinsky made his first attempt at the realization of a synthesis of the arts when he proposed and founded the Institute of Art Culture in Moscow in 1920, a comprehensive institute for the study and development of the arts and sciences. Kandinsky was active in this organization as vice-president for about a year; then political pressure forced his resignation and he found a similar field of activity in the Bauhaus in Weimar, which he joined in 1922.

CONCLUSION

Expressionism, which began by shifting emphasis from the object to be painted to the artist's own subjective interpretation—reached in Kandinsky the total negation of the object. In this respect he was of great inspiration to succeeding artists. The final phase of expressionism also became the beginning of an altogether new artistic concept, non-objective painting, and Kandinsky was heralded as its innovator by the following generation, even by painters such as Diego Rivera working in an altogether different style: "I know of nothing more real than the painting of Kandinsky—nor anything more true and nothing more beautiful. A painting by Kandinsky gives no image of earthly life—it is life itself. If one painter deserves the name 'creator,' it is he. He organizes matter as matter was organized, otherwise the Universe would not exist. He opened a window to look inside the All. Someday Kandinsky will be the best known and best loved by men."⁵²

In his rejection of the representational aspect of art, Kandinsky cleared the way for new values in art. By experimenting with the possibility of an expressive—rather than a formalistic—art in the non-objective idiom, he threw out a challenge which performed a most valuable function in the history of modern art. Through his activity as an aesthetician as well as a painter he was able to write a series of books which fully articulate his ideas and have become as influential in the history of modern painting as his paintings themselves.

Kandinsky's aesthetic theory continues, among other things, the precept that the elements of painting—lines and colors and their combinations—evoke emotional associations in the observer. This precept is basic to expressionism, although not original with the expressionist movement. Much of it is implied in romanticist aesthetics and clearly stated in the theory of empathy. It is set forth differently in Paul Signac's theory of neo-impressionism and occurs again in Bergson's

48. In Kandinsky and Marc, *Der blaue Reiter*, pp. 103-113.

49. Kandinsky, "Text Artista," pp. 75-87.

50. By "stage composition"—*Bühnenkomposition*—Kandinsky is referring to the totality of movement on the stage.

51. Kandinsky, "Der gelbe Klang," in Kandinsky and

Marc, *Der blaue Reiter*, pp. 119-131. The possibilities of such a synthesis in the film were not yet explored in 1912.

52. Diego Rivera, quoted in "Notes on the Life, Development and Last Years of Kandinsky," in *Wassily Kandinsky Memorial*, p. 100.

*Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience.*⁵³ It is significant for an understanding of symbolism and its corollary *Jugendstil*, and was reiterated by such men as Gauguin, Denis, Sérusier, Walter Crane, and August Endell.

Kandinsky's essays, however, are exceedingly important because they were written by the man who himself was the innovator of non-objective painting. Now in the total absence of representational objects the plastic elements were to become sole carriers of the artist's message. This probably is why he felt called upon to express verbally what he had done in his painting through the intuition of "inner necessity."

In the analysis of his color theory it was pointed out that no direct parallels can be established between the artist's statement and the observer's response. Both projections rest on highly personal and subjective factors. This, however, does not greatly differ from music. It has, for example, been shown that the major and minor modes are by no means endowed with characteristics which would call forth identical reactions in different listeners.⁵⁴ A great deal depends on previous experience and training.

As Kandinsky himself has indicated, prose cannot express the shades of emotion awakened by sound and color. Each person may verbalize differently about the experience of a work of art and his verbalization may be at great variance with that of the artist. Yet direct communication can take place on a primary visual (preverbal) level, before either spectator or artist articulates. It is toward this level of communication that the art of Kandinsky and other expressionists was directed.

POMONA COLLEGE

53. Bergson, *Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience*, Paris, 1904.

Hopkins University, Baltimore, 1928; quoted in Lindsay, "An Examination of the Fundamental Theories of Wassily Kandinsky," p. 104.

54. Christian P. Heinlein, "The Affective Characteristics of the Major and Minor Modes in Music," dissertation, Johns



1. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Massa Marittima Altarpiece (detail)
(photo: Alinari)



2. *Faith*, detail of Fig. 1, after recent restoration
(Electa Editrice, Milan)

NOTES

A REPRESENTATION OF *FIDES* BY AMBROGIO LORENZETTI

HOWARD HIBBARD

One of the most puzzling representations of the three Theological Virtues appears in the altarpiece by Ambrogio Lorenzetti in the Palazzo Municipale of Massa Marittima (Fig. 1).¹ The altarpiece represents the enthroned Madonna adored by saints and angels, and the presence of the three Christian virtues in such a painting is unusual. Ambrogio's picture was, in fact, long considered the first of its kind. Recently, however, Millard Meiss identified an earlier Madonna with saints and virtues as a panel by the Master of the Stefaneschi Altarpiece.² This would seem to be the earliest known representation of the subject, and as Professor Meiss suggests, it may well reflect a prototype by Giotto himself. The unusual image of the *Caritas* figure in the Massa altar has been brought to our attention by R. Freyhan.³ Since Ambrogio's *Faith* is no less interesting than his *Charity*, the purpose of this note is to throw some light upon its immediate origin.

The throne of the Madonna rests upon the broad base of *Fides*, while the second and third steps symbolize *Spes* and *Caritas*, respectively. In addition to the careful labels, Ambrogio has shown angelic allegorical figures of the virtues, each on her own step, with *Caritas*, the greatest of the three, at the top in a frontal, center position. The representation thus clearly specifies the Pauline source of the virtues: "And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity" (I Cor. 13:13).

Although *Charity* is the greatest of the virtues, *Faith* is the first, the foundation and cause of the others. Her attribute is extraordinary. Instead of the usual chalice and cross, she holds a mirror. This was often the attribute of the vice *Vainglory*, as in Ambrogio's own *Bad Government* fresco. But in this case the symbol is clearly related to representations of *Prudence*.⁴ Italian representations of *Prudence* in this period usually carry a mirror, while the figure herself often has two faces. Here it is the mirror which carries the image of a two-faced male head (Fig. 2).⁵

1. I would like to thank Professor Millard Meiss for his help in writing this Note. The essential bibliography for the Lorenzetti is listed in Giulia Sinibaldi, *I Lorenzetti*, Siena, 1933.

2. *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death*, Princeton, 1951, p. 148 and fig. 169. *Hope* and *Charity* are associated with the Madonna, while other virtues sit on the base of her throne.

3. "The Evolution of the *Caritas* Figure," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XI, 1948, pp. 68-86.

4. G. F. Hartlaub, *Zauber des Spiegels* . . . , Munich, 1951, p. 94, even calls this the mirror of *Prudence*. Ambrogio's *Prudence* in the *Good Government* fresco does not have this attribute, but rather a basket of coals with three flames, and the inscription *PRETERIUM, PRESENS, FUTURUM*. Cf. Curt H. Weigelt, *Sienese Painting of the Trecento*, New York, n.d., pp. 52, 90 n. 96, and pl. 99. For the triple nature of *Prudence* see Erwin Panofsky, "Titian's Allegory of Prudence," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XI, 1948, pp. 68-86.

The presence of this mirror with its surprising image as an attribute of *Faith* poses two problems: its specific meaning, and its iconographic source. Paul is fond of mirror similes, and we think immediately of the famous passage in I Cor. 13:12: "For now we see through a glass darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known." This may have been in Ambrogio's mind as was the succeeding verse already quoted. Another Pauline source for our mirror emblem which specifically refers to the coming of the New Law, of which the picture is symbolic, is II Cor. 3:15-18: "But even unto this day, when Moses is read, the vail is upon their heart. . . . But we all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord." These passages, or later, similar ones, might be implied by the representation in the altarpiece. It should be emphasized that Ambrogio is very rich in his imagery because he was singularly unbound by any canon of symbols. Thus his images seldom permit simple explanations by means of any single source.

Paul specifically refers to *Faith* in a significant passage in Heb. 11:1: "Now *Faith* is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." (Est autem *fides* sperandum substantia rerum, argumentum non apparentium). This seems to accord very closely with the actual image in Ambrogio's picture, where *Faith* holds a mirror in which are reflected two faces. This can be interpreted as an image of the two absent members of the Trinity, which is thus the substance of *Faith*.⁶ *Faith* is, therefore, also a *Hope*, a reflection in the soul. As if to emphasize this, the diminutive figure seems to indicate her breast as the seat of the divine mirror.

A source for Ambrogio's interpretation of *Faith* was close at hand. The personification of that virtue on Nicola Pisano's pulpit in the Siena cathedral carries a banderole with the same inscription from Hebrews: *FIDES EST SUBSTANTIA RERUM SPERANDARUM ARGUMENTUM NON APARENTIUM*.⁷ That Ambrogio turned to the Pisano pulpit in this instance seems clear, and it

dence: A Postscript," *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, New York, 1955, Part 4.

5. A large crack runs through the right half of the mirror, and in view of the picture's checkered past, there must have been important restorations in this area. Careful examination of the image as it now exists revealed two almost identical faces of apparently equal age. The two faces are not part of a *triciput*, but, in form, are similar to *Janus* images. Still another type of *Fides* is discussed in Folke Nordström, *Virtues and Vices on the 14th Century Corbels in the Choir of Uppsala Cathedral*, Stockholm, 1956, pp. 30f.

6. Cf. A. Heimann, "Trinitas Creator Mundi," *Warburg Journal*, II, 1938-1939, pp. 42-52. Ambrogio is rarely consistent in his imagery; in the *Good Government* fresco it is *Spes* who has a vision of the deity (Weigelt, *op.cit.*, pl. 97).

7. Enzo Carli, *Il pulpito di Siena*, Rome, 1943, p. 49 n.1, and pl. 19. This was also Dante's ultimate definition of *Faith*, *Paradiso*, XXIV, 52-66.

is significant that he should have done so.⁸ Iconography apart, Ambrogio was moving away from the *maniera gotica* of his Sienese contemporaries, back to the sober and monumental style of Nicola. But although he returned to the great sculptor for inspiration, the painter expressed himself by means of new iconography. Discarding cumbersome and pedantic inscriptions, he expressed their meanings by new and even revolutionary symbols.

AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF AN ALTARPIECE BY ANDREA VANNI*

JERROLD ZIFF

At the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and the Fogg Museum, Harvard University, are five panels which at one time formed part of a major altarpiece by the Sienese painter Andrea Vanni. Tancred Borenius was the first to report the probable relationship of a portion of this material, *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* in Boston (Fig. 1) and *St. John the Apostle* (Fig. 2), which was recently given by Dr. Lillian Malcove to the Fogg Museum.¹ Several years ago Millard Meiss suggested that there might be added to this nucleus the two panels of the *Annunciation* in the Fogg Museum (Fig. 3) and the now oval-shaped *Madonna and Child* in S. Donato, Siena (Fig. 4). The latter, he thought, was the probable central panel of the altarpiece.² The purpose of this study is to substantiate the opinions of Messrs. Borenius and Meiss, to add three other small panels to the polyptych, and to show that originally the altarpiece was housed in the monastery of S. Eugenio at Siena.

8. For another rapport between Ambrogio and the Siena pulpit, cf. Enzo Carli, *La pittura senese*, Milan, 1955, p. 116.

* I wish to thank Professor Millard Meiss, whose suggestions and criticisms made this Note possible.

1. Parke-Bernet Galleries Inc., *Paintings by Old and Modern Masters*, Sale number 573, May 24, 1944, p. 52. In a letter authenticating the *St. John* panel, Tancred Borenius stated "—from both style and dimensions there can be no doubt in my opinion that it belongs to the same polyptych as the SS. Peter and Paul in the Boston Museum." The measurements given in this catalogue ($56\frac{1}{2} \times 20\frac{1}{2}$ inches) included a frame not original to the panel. The actual height of the painting is 67.9 cm and the width is 38.4 cm ($26\frac{3}{4} \times 15\frac{1}{8}$ inches).

2. Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death*, Princeton, 1951, p. 23.

3. *St. Peter* measures 153×43 cm ($60\frac{1}{4} \times 17$ inches) and *St. Paul* 155×43 cm (61×17 inches) (Boston Museum of Fine Arts, *Summary Catalogue of European Paintings*, Boston, 1955, p. 65). Before they were acquired by the Boston Museum, the panels were in the Griccioli Collection, Siena (F. M. Perkins, "La pittura alla mostra d'arte antica in Siena," *Rassegna d'arte*, IV, 1904, pp. 147-148). The photograph published in Perkins' article shows the two panels before their cleaning at the Museum of Fine Arts. The coats of arms, largely intact prior to the cleaning, do not appear to be contemporary with the panels. Bernhard Berenson (*The Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance*, 2d ed., New York, 1909, p. 262) stated that the paintings were in the monastery

There is ample proof that the narrowed and shortened panel of *St. John* formerly occupied a wing of the same polyptych as did *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*.³ Each reflects the more pronounced three-dimensionality that prevailed in the paintings by Vanni nearly a quarter of a century before the flatter S. Stefano altarpiece (1400), Siena (Fig. 5). The disposition of the saints upon the panels is the same, while on the right wrist of each is an overlapping-diagonal fold of material peculiar to Vanni. The tooling of each panel provides, however, even more evidence. This is illustrated by the halo of *St. John* since it is the identical size, 27 cm in diameter, as the halos of *Peter* and *Paul*. From this important similarity it can be shown that, in spite of its present measurement of 67.9 cm, the height of *St. John* was at one time the same as the panels of the Boston saints.⁴ The principal alteration in the width of *St. John* has occurred at the left side, where today there is no trace of the spring of the tooled arch. As a result, the image of the Apostle, unlike the two Boston saints, is no longer clear of the edge. The 4.6 cm needed to make the *St. John* panel comparable in width to the others would also be sufficient to permit a narrow space to exist between the saint and the painting's edge.⁵

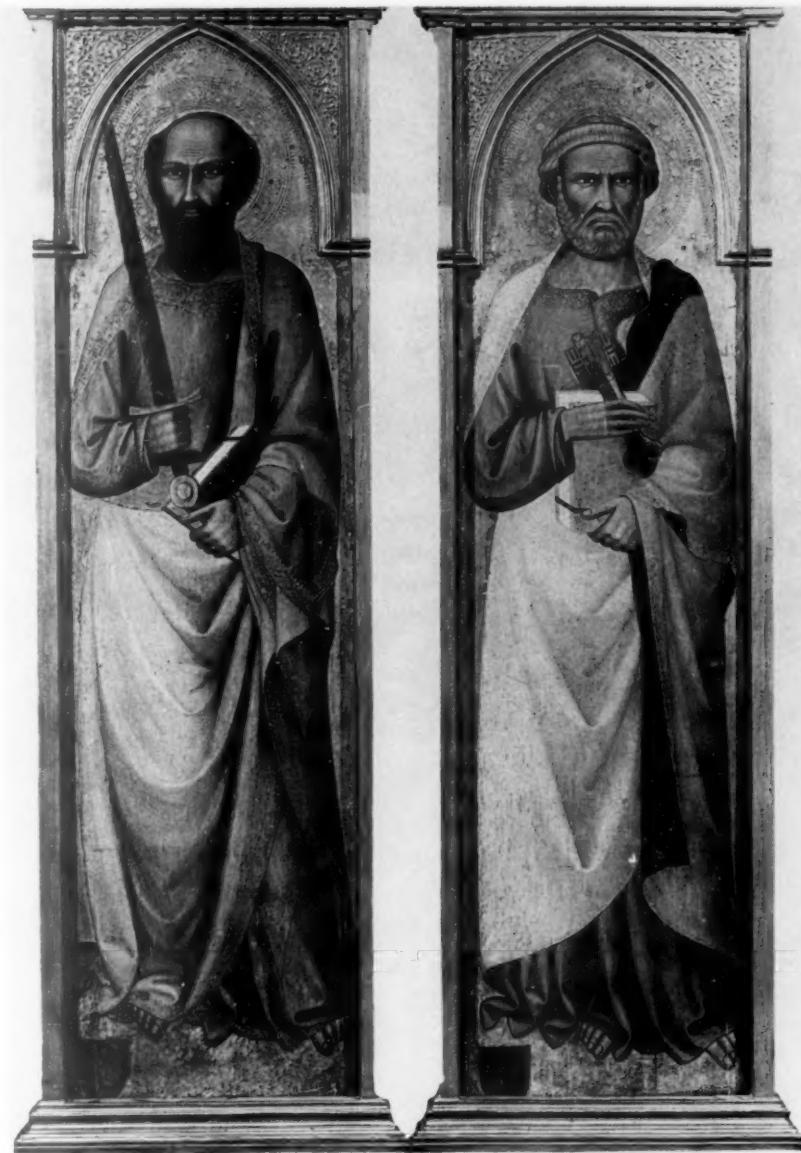
The tooled border of the *St. John* panel proves that the original frame described the same simple pointed arch as that above *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*. In all three, this arch springs at about the same level in relation to the shoulders of the saints. The three border designs are alike, but for a small exception in *St. John* where an additional row of circles was introduced. This is a variation not at all unusual in a Sienese altarpiece. *St. John*'s halo differs somewhat from the other two, but again the principle of the design is the same, and the stamps are similar.⁶

of S. Eugenio, Siena. Actually this Benedictine monastery had become the villa of the Griccioli family early in the nineteenth century (Ettore Romagnoli, *Cenni storico-artistici di Siena e suoi suburbii*, Siena, 1840, p. 93).

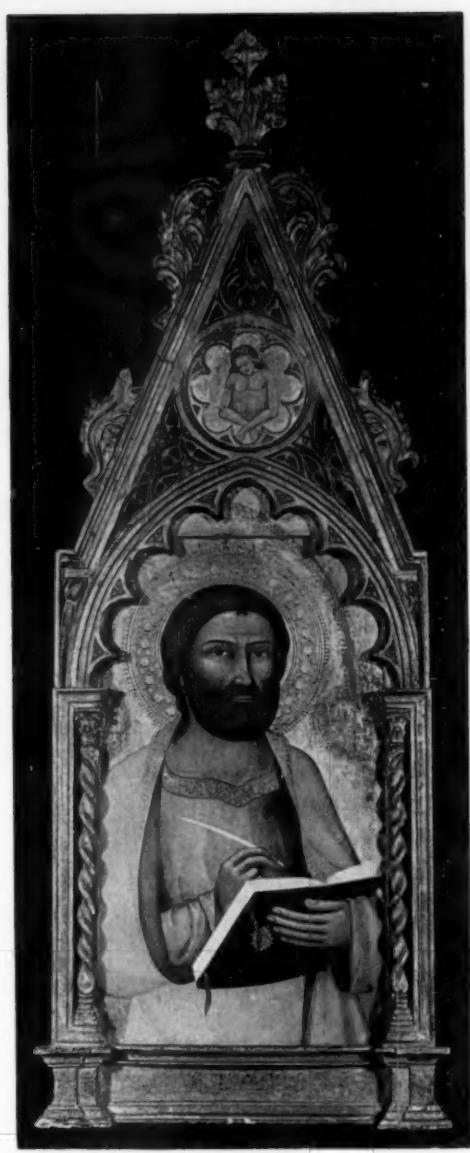
4. The size of each face and body in relationship to the halo is quite close. The distance between the nimbi and the tooled arches at each side is also similar. Based upon these facts, it is reasonable to conclude that the relationship of the diameter of the halos to the length of the panels is also a constant one. Furthermore, this premise reveals the size of the fragments missing from the top and bottom of *St. John*. It is approximately 6 cm from the top of the halos of *Peter* and *Paul* to the point of the arch, whereas about 1 cm only remains above the halo of *St. John*. The sum of the missing portion (5 cm) and the present length of *St. John* is equal to 47 per cent (72.9 cm) of *St. Paul*. This would indicate, using *St. Paul* as a constant, that the lower part removed from the Fogg saint was 82.1 cm (53 per cent) in height.

5. A comparison of the left side with the right shows that approximately 4.5 cm were removed from the former edge. As a result the diameter of *St. John*'s halo is now 71.8 per cent the width of the panel, while in the other two paintings the halo diameters amount to only 63 per cent of the width.

6. Related halo designs can be found in several other panels that do not belong to this altarpiece—the *Madonna and Child* of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, and the *Madonna* of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (John Pope-Hennessy, "A Madonna by Andrea Vanni," *Burlington Magazine*, LXXXIII, 1943, p. 174).



1. *St. Peter and St. Paul* (Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)



2. *St. John the Apostle*
(Courtesy Fogg Museum, Cambridge)



3. *Annunciation* (Courtesy Fogg Museum, Cambridge)



4. Madonna and Child. Siena, S. Donato
(Courtesy Frick Reference Library, New York)



5. Polyptych. Siena, S. Stefano



6. St. Ursula, St. Anne, and St. Agnes
(Courtesy Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfort on the Main)

The size and tooling of the *Annunciation* paintings (Fig. 3) suggest that they were located above the three saints.⁷ The *Gabriel* panel, the wider of the two, is only 1.7 cm (2/3 of an inch) narrower than either *St. Peter* or *St. Paul*.⁸ This slight difference, if not, as seems likely, the result of damage and warping, could have been easily compensated for by the framing of the polyptych.⁹ The major unit in the design of the halos of *Gabriel* and the *Virgin Annunciate*, a floral-like configuration formed with six circular stamps about a central one, corresponds to the halos of the saints, but because of the larger dimensions of the saints' halos additional decor was applied between the units. Significantly, the stamps used in the *Annunciation* panels are like those found in the panels of the three saints.¹⁰ A stylistic comparison of these panels also relates the Fogg panels to those in the Boston Museum. The seriousness and simple dignity that Vanni unfailingly gave to his subjects is present. With these panels, however, his sure and precise hand successfully avoided the stiff, angular contour and the flat modeling of his later altarpiece at S. Stefano.

The oblong oval of the *Madonna and Child* in the S. Chiodi chapel near the church of S. Donato, Siena (Fig. 4), is of dual significance for the reconstruction of the altarpiece.¹¹ Not only is it important for the reassemblage of the various parts, but in addition its history provides a valuable clue to the original site of the altarpiece. In 1864 J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle noted that the painting was in the "monastery fuori Porta S. Marco at Siena," the same monastery (S. Eugenio) from which came the two Boston panels. The presence of such a large portion of the polyptych in S. Eugenio during the nineteenth century strongly suggests that this was its intended site. The above

authors also mentioned that the *Madonna* depicted a "life-sized Virgin" which indicates that it was not until sometime later that the painting was cut to its present dimensions. It was undoubtedly the central panel of the polyptych. The soft contour and delicate plasticity are present, and on the right wrist of the Christ Child is the same overlapping-diagonal fold previously noted in the three saints. These and other stylistic affinities, although specifying a period in Vanni's development, do not establish the physical kinship of the various parts of a specific altarpiece. The relationship is disclosed, however, upon an analysis of the tooled designs of the *Madonna and Child* and the five other panels.¹² To be sure, a slight discrepancy is apparent when the *Madonna*'s halo is closely compared to those of the saints, but it is significant that the deviation is similar to that which differentiates the halo of St. John from his two brethren.¹³ Christ's halo differs markedly, which is not surprising, but important is the fact that the same stamps were used to create the design. An additional relationship exists in the similarity of the gold embroidery on the tunic and throne of the S. Donato *Madonna* and the robe of the Fogg *Gabriel*. Furthermore, a gentle "dew-drop" pattern behind the Fogg *Virgin* is repeated in the S. Donato painting. Because of its marked difference from the identical but harder design in the S. Stefano altarpiece, this pattern indicates the space of time that probably elapsed between the execution of the two polyptychs.

An accurate restoration of the altarpiece depends upon the re-creation of the original dimensions of the S. Donato panel. In order to accomplish this, it is necessary to refer to Vanni's S. Stefano and S. Spirito (Siena) *Madonnas*.¹⁴ These paintings and what re-

7. G. H. Edgell ("Andrea Vanni Annunciation in the Fogg Museum, Harvard," *Art in America*, III, 1915, p. 229) correctly determined that the two panels did not at one time form a diptych. His conclusion is supported by the fact that the right vertical member of the *Gabriel* frame, which is original, fails to reveal any evidence of a previous hinging. The other pertinent member, the left side of the *Virgin* frame, is not contemporary with the panel. Before being acquired by the Fogg Museum in 1914, the two pinnacles were in the collection of Count Fabio Chigi, Saracini Palace, Siena (F. M. Perkins, "Andrea Vanni," *Burlington Magazine*, II, 1903, p. 316).

8. Fogg Art Museum, *Collection of Medieval and Renaissance Paintings*, Cambridge, Mass., 1927, p. 112. The *Gabriel* panel, including the frame, is 72.4 cm (28 1/2 inches) high, while across the base it is 41.3 cm (16 1/4 inches). The painting of the *Virgin*, also including the frame, measures 73.7 x 38.7 cm (29 x 15 1/4 inches).

9. Sometime before their arrival at the Fogg Museum both panels had been repaired, but they are still in delicate condition. A new base member added to each frame shortened each panel slightly. The addition of a new left vertical piece to the *Virgin* frame, and the subsequent narrowing of the picture, probably accounts for the difference in width between it and the *Gabriel* panel.

10. One unusual factor about this altarpiece is the nearly equal width of the pinnacles and the wings. The normal procedure in Siena during the second half of the Trecento was to have a tapering frame at the top of each wing which formed the transition to a pinnacle of smaller width. This was par-

ticularly true when the pinnacles were not of a simple triangular shape. Vanni himself followed this traditional design in the S. Stefano polyptych (Fig. 5). Bartolo di Fredi's Montelcino altarpiece of 1388, had pinnacles nearly twice as narrow as the wings below (Raimond Van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, The Hague, 1923-1938, II, figs. 321-322; Cesare Brandi, *La Regia Pinacoteca di Siena*, Rome, 1933, p. 34). The two *Annunciation* panels in the Los Angeles County Museum (Los Angeles County Museum, *A Catalogue of Italian, French and Spanish Paintings*, Los Angeles, 1954, p. 10 and pls. 3a and b), which like Vanni's clearly echo the antecedent provided by Simone, were probably the pinnacles for this altarpiece.

11. Its present measurements are 99 cm high and 84 cm wide. This information was kindly given to me by Mr. Meiss. The painting was first attributed to Vanni in J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle, *A New History of Painting in Italy*, London, 1864, II, p. 154 n. 3.

12. For fear of being thought insensitive to the real beauty of these paintings, I must tender an apology for largely restricting my argument to the more technical considerations of tooling and panel sizes. Ultimately the burden of proof is best served in this manner.

13. There are four individual round stamps symmetrically spaced to fill the area between the major floral designs in the halos of Sts. Peter and Paul. In the halo of the *Madonna* there are five stamps and in the Apostle's halo there are six. In each case the variation occurs in the same region—exactly midway between the floral ornaments.

14. For a full-length reproduction of the S. Spirito Ma-

mains of the S. Donato panel suggests that the artist's usual format for a seated Madonna either barely included the entire throne or partially cut it with the picture edge. If either had been the case in the execution of the S. Donato image, then it is likely that at its broadest point only a small portion is missing. Because only the left arm of the throne is gone, it may be concluded that either the cut was made slightly off to one side, or the throne itself was not centered, or that the throne was not a perfectly symmetrical object. The latter choice appears to be the best alternative since in the S. Spirito panel the left arm of the throne begins approximately one-half inch lower than the right. A similar design in the S. Donato painting would have permitted an oval cut to remove one arm while leaving the other largely intact as has occurred. An addition of a few centimeters to the present painting, expanding the width to no more than 90 cm, would accommodate an image comparable to those of S. Stefano or S. Spirito. The accuracy of this estimate is supported by a consideration of the proportional relationship of the S. Stefano *Madonna and Child* to one of the wings of that altarpiece, as for example *St. John the Baptist*. The central panel is about 1.94 times wider than the wing. Had this proportion been used in the earlier polyptych, the central panel would have measured 83.4 cm in width, or slightly narrower than it is now. Unless the relationship of the central panel to its wings was markedly altered in the earlier altarpiece, the width of the S. Donato painting might be assumed to have never greatly exceeded 90 cm.

The original height of the S. Donato painting was determined in the same manner. Thus, its height would have been 176.7 cm had it initially been 14.3 per cent taller than its wings, as is the central panel of the S. Stefano altarpiece. Another means used to deduce the original height concurs generally with the first estimate. If again compared with the S. Stefano *Madonna*, it is found that 45.5 per cent of the S. Donato panel is missing, or that it was formerly 181.8 cm high. With

Madonna and Child see F. Mason Perkins, "Spigolature," *Rassegna d'arte senese*, IV, 1908, fig. facing p. 84.

15. In none of the above three panels did the upper edge of the painting cut the top of the image. I have estimated that some four centimeters, or a measurement approximately equal to the distance from the Madonna's blouse to the painting's present lower edge, was needed to complete the upper part of the S. Donato painting. Thus, the distance from the painting's hypothetical top to the edge of the Virgin's blouse would be 99 cm. This same distance in the S. Stefano *Madonna* amounts to 54.5 per cent of the total length of the panel. It encompasses in the Fogg and Fitzwilliam *Virgins* (Van Marle, *Italian Schools of Painting*, II, fig. 284) 55.2 per cent and 52.8 per cent respectively. Therefore, in terms of the S. Stefano panel, 82.8 cm are missing which would mean the total height of the S. Donato *Madonna* was 181.8 cm. Compared to the Fogg panel 80.3 cm are gone, providing a total height of 179.3 cm. With the Fitzwilliam painting as the measure, there are 88.5 cm missing, giving a height of 187.5 cm. Reference to the *Madonna* of S. Spirito, Siena, also corroborates these results.

16. It is 61 cm from the conjectured top of the S. Donato panel to the area of the arch under discussion. A subtraction of 61 cm from the heights tentatively given the panel would

the Fogg *Virgin Annunciate* acting as the control the result is 179.3 cm, while compared to the *Madonna and Child* of the Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge, England) the height obtained is 187.5 cm.¹⁵

There is perhaps an even more satisfactory approach to this problem. Around the edge of the upper half of the panel there is a tooled border which at the right appears to originate at a level equal to the Christ Child's eyes and at the left disappears on nearly the same level. This design describes a portion of a pointed arch similar to those found in the three aforementioned saints. Moreover, the detail of this arch closely approximates that of the Boston saints. From the evidence of the border it can be determined that only a small fragment of the painting is missing from the top since, notwithstanding the strong curve of the panel, the design only gradually disappears. In fact, the two sides of the incomplete arch would probably meet at a point about two-thirds of the way up the present frame. At the spring of the arch there is a short diagonal similar to those in the Boston paintings. If the previous measurements are correct, then there is good reason to believe that the arches in the wings and in the central panel arose from the same level. The distance from the original bottom of the S. Donato panel to the arch, as derived from this premise, would have been 124 cm.¹⁶ Therefore, the former height of the entire painting would have measured about 185 cm.¹⁷ This figure compares favorably with the results obtained by the application of the proportions found in the S. Stefano altarpiece (176.7 cm) and by the comparison of the S. Donato image with other Vanni paintings of the *Madonna* (179.3 cm to 187.5 cm).

Lastly, this writer suggests that the three small paintings of SS. Ursula, Anne, and Agnes in the Städelsche Kunstsammlungen, Frankfurt, Germany (Fig. 6), probably adorned the original pilaster frame of the altarpiece.¹⁸ Each bears a close resemblance to the principal panels. For example, the robes of St. Agnes and St. Peter fall and strike the ground in the same distinctive man-

place the diagonal of the arch at either 118.3, 120.8, or 126.5 cm from the bottom. These figures are near enough to the 124 measured over the same distance in *St. Paul* to warrant the conclusion that the two arches began on the same horizontal level.

17. This height was obtained by adding 57 cm (the distance from the diagonal to the top of the present panel) and four cm (an approximate figure needed to complete the tooled arch) to 124 cm. The measurement conforms to Crowe and Cavalcaselle's observation (see p. 139) that the painting was life-size.

18. Bernhard Berenson, *Studies in Medieval Painting*, New Haven, 1930, p. 93. Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt-am-Main, *Verzeichnis der Gemälde*, Frankfurt, 1924, p. 197, listed the three panels as by a Sienese Master in the manner of Lippo Memmi. Each (nos. 1467, 1468 and 1469) measures 45 x 12 cm. The previous owner of the panels, Dr. Friedrich Boehler, willed them to the Städelsche Kunstinstitut in 1864. If, as seems likely, these paintings did come from the Vanni altarpiece at S. Eugenio, then it is certain that the polyptych was broken up at some earlier date. Were this not the case, Crowe and Cavalcaselle would undoubtedly have remarked on the inclusion of the *Madonna and Child* in a larger scheme.

ner. St. Agnes' face closely approximates that of the S. Donato or Fogg Virgins, while her hands are reproduced in the hands of Peter or the Virgin Annunciate. *St. Anne with the Child Mary* illustrates the same spatial effect as the Fogg Virgin. Encircling the wrist of Anne is the overlapping-diagonal fold already noted in the panels of *St. Peter*, *St. Paul*, and *St. John*, while at the edge of her robe is an engraved line that duplicates the shape described in the folds on the throne cloth of the Harvard *Annunciation*. St. Ursula wears

the gold ornament used in the dress of the pilaster saints is compared with analogous areas in the other panels. Furthermore, the original frame decoration above *St. Agnes* and *St. Ursula* is almost a reproduction of the embellishments in the Fogg pinnacles.

There is a problem created by the total height of the panels of the three saints since it falls short by approximately 20 cm of the height of the adjacent wings. Normally they would be expected to rise to the same level. It is possible that originally the uppermost panels

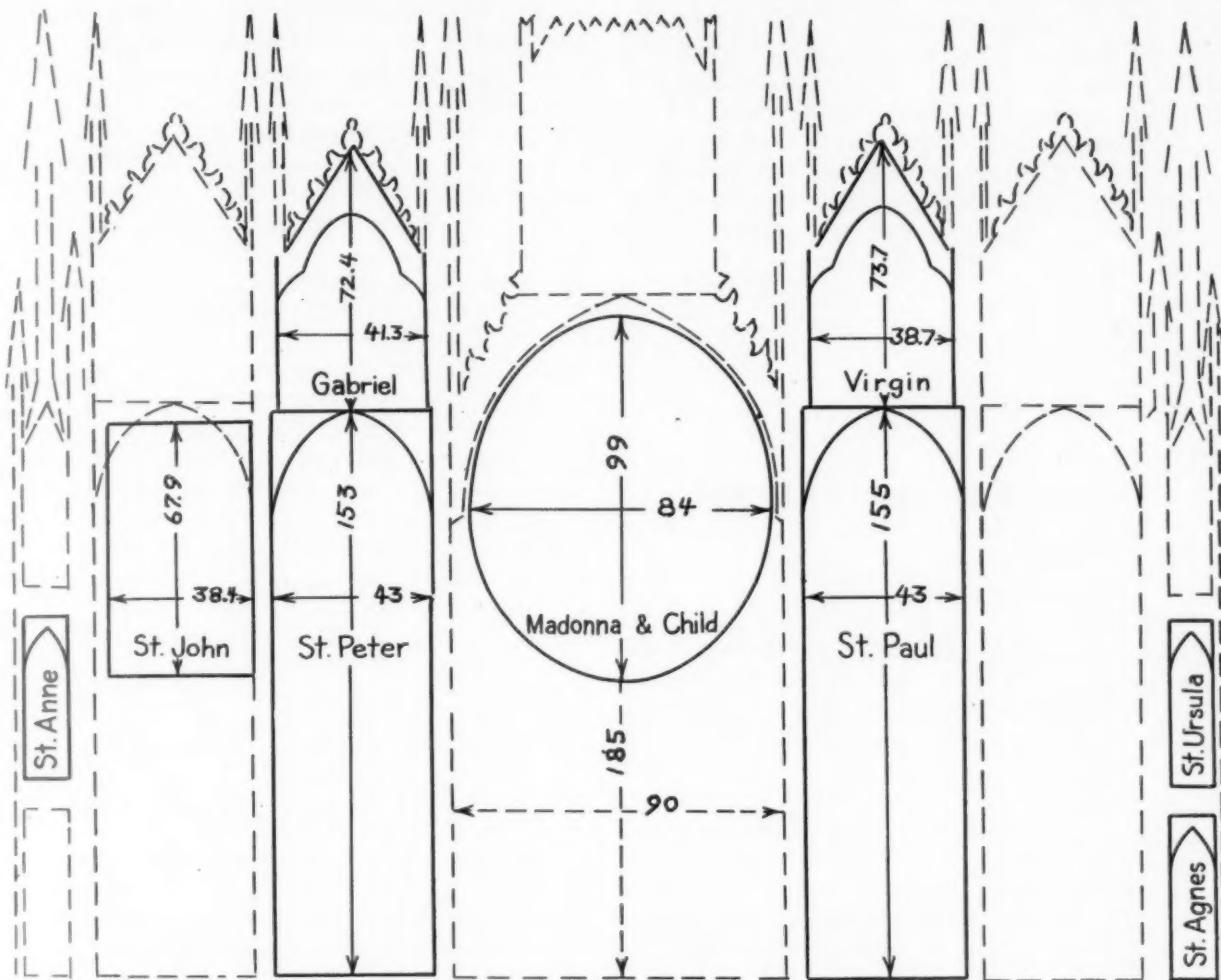


Fig. 1. Reconstruction of Andrea Vanni's Altarpiece for S. Eugenio, Siena

an embroidered robe of the same type that forms the tunic of Gabriel, and over her face is brushed a diaphanous material found also in Christ's blouse in the S. Donato painting.

The contention that these panels did form part of the altarpiece has important support from the tooled border design because of its close relationship with that of the Fogg, Boston, and S. Donato paintings. Admittedly, the halos of the three saints are different from the nimbi of the other polyptych subjects. Nevertheless, the stamps employed to form the several designs are alike in size and shape.¹⁹ Another similarity exists when

of the pilasters were pinnacles of greater height than the Städels. Vanni designed the pilasters in the S. Stefano altarpiece in this manner, although the pinnacles were made only slightly taller than the panels below. This proposition receives added support from the direction of St. Anne's glance, which may well indicate her original situation as being on the opposite (left) side of the altarpiece from her two sister saints. Thus, it is entirely conceivable that the Städels appeared at the bottom and intermediate positions in the pilasters. There are several other plausible solutions to this question. Designs may have been placed between the

19. The principal stamp in the halo of St. Ursula is slightly less than $\frac{1}{2}$ cm in width. The same size stamp was used to

form the clusters in the halos of Sts. John, Peter, and Paul.

saints as in Taddeo di Bartolo's altarpiece in the Cathedral of Montepulciano (1401) where between the uppermost panel and the one below was set a bust of an angel.²⁰ On the other hand, Vanni may have spanned the added distance, as Taddeo did in his polyptych of 1411 (Gallery, Volterra), by placing at the bottom of each pilaster a coat of arms that would have raised substantially the succeeding panels.²¹

Besides the missing pilaster saints, the altarpiece today lacks a fourth wing and pinnacles for either side of the *Annunciation*. In its first state the whole (text fig. 1), like many fourteenth century altarpieces, was probably surmounted by a half-length representation of the Savior in the attitude of benediction. This, too, is missing, but in all likelihood it closely resembled the barely distinguishable Christ figure above the *Annunciation* in S. Stefano. The type is illustrated in Taddeo di Bartolo's altarpiece at S. Gimignano which is dated in the closing years of the fourteenth century.²² In this, as probably in Vanni's, the *Annunciation* panels appear over the interior wings, while the painting of the Savior is placed above the central panel of the *Madonna and Child*.

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ALBERTI'S THEORY OF FORM AND FUNCTION

EDWARD R. DE ZURKO

Leone Battista Alberti's theories of architectural form and function are contained in his book, *De re aedificatoria* written about 1450 and first published posthumously in 1485.¹ This book was probably the first work on architecture to be printed from type and anticipated by one year the first printed edition of Vitruvius.²

In form, Alberti's treatise is similar to that produced by the ancient Roman architect Vitruvius, but the Renaissance work is by no means a copy. There are important differences in content as well as style. Alberti respected Vitruvius for his learning and made fre-

quent acknowledgments to him, but the ultimate authority for Alberti was not this single Roman architect but the whole body of classical writings and works of art.

Alberti's ideas are of interest and importance today.³ We have much to learn from him. His ideas typify and represent the fifteenth century Italian viewpoint, hence provide an excellent source of insight into the age. But, in addition to finding in Alberti's writings much historical and factual information that is useful and meaningful to us, we find in them much of ourselves. The architectural precepts of Alberti sometimes read like those of a modern functionalist critic, and his use of organic analogy and metaphor reminds one of Louis Sullivan or Frank Lloyd Wright.

One of the principal themes of Alberti's preface is the service to mankind of the art of architecture. The preface maintains that architecture should be "of the greatest convenience to Mankind in all respects." A building which has no other quality than this public and private utility will be a delight to look upon. A different type of beauty is proper for each building in accordance with difference in purpose; thus Alberti adhered to the Aristotelian principle of relative beauty which later became popular among eighteenth century architectural critics. Alberti repeatedly stressed the idea that architecture is largely an outgrowth of necessity and convenience; it is only lastly and to a secondary degree, subservient to pleasure and recreation. The proper way to study architecture is to begin with the common sense of building. This is the prevailing tone of his treatise.

Beauty is defined by Alberti in an Aristotelian manner as, "a harmony of all the parts . . . fitted together with such proportion and connection, that nothing could be added, diminished or altered, but for the worse."⁴ The stress on fitting together and proportion remind one of the integrity and proportion of Thomas Aquinas.⁵ Alberti discussed compartition in this spirit.

To every Member therefore ought to be allotted its fit Place and proper Situation; not less than Dignity requires, nor greater than Convenience demands; not in an impertinent or indecent Place, but

Coffin, ART BULLETIN, XXXVIII, 1956, pp. 57f. The books available to me for study were a copy of the Leoni edition of 1726 (see note 4), and a copy of the 1955 edition.

4. *The Architecture of Leon Battista Alberti*, trans. into English by James Leoni, three vols. in one, London, 1726, II, p. 3. In the *Metaphysica* and the *Poetica*, Aristotle defined artistic wholeness in organic terms. He contrasted wholeness with mere oneness and heterogeneous plurality. Wholeness implies a system of parts related in such a way that no part may be altered or omitted without perceptibly affecting the rest. Cf. S. H. Butcher, *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, London and New York, 1895, p. 175.

5. For a discussion of integrity and proportion as Thomist conditions of beauty, see Leonard Callahan, *A Theory of Esthetic According to the Principles of St. Thomas Aquinas*, Washington, D.C., The Catholic University of America, 1927, pp. 58f. or Jacques Maritain, *Art and Scholasticism*, trans. into English by J. F. Scanlan, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930, *passim*.

20. Van Marle, *Italian Schools of Painting*, II, fig. 348.

21. *ibid.*, fig. 359.

22. George H. Edgell, *A History of Sienese Painting*, New York, 1932, fig. 234.

1. The date 1450 is given by G. M. Mancini, *Vita di Leon Battista Alberti*, 2d ed., Florence, 1911, p. 352, but arguments for a later date are presented by Max Theuer, *Leon Battista Alberti, Zehn Bücher über die Baukunst*, Vienna, 1912, pp. xxxiiif.

2. The printings referred to are Florence, Nicolaus Laurentii, 1485 and Rome, G. Herolt, 1486.

3. As demonstrated by the recent publication, L. B. Alberti, *Ten Books on Architecture*, edited by Joseph Rykwert, London, Alec Tiranti Ltd., 1955. This is a complete reprint of the Giacomo Leoni translation (1755 edition) with footnotes by the editor and the addition of a biographical sketch of Alberti by Raphael du Fresne taken from the Leoni edition of 1739. For an analysis of the strength and weakness of the newest edition of Alberti's great treatise see the review by David R.

in a Situation so proper to itself, that it could be set no where else more fitly. . . . And these ought to agree one Member with another to perfect and compare the main Design and Beauty of the whole; that we may not so lay out our whole Study in adorning one Part, as to leave the rest neglected and homely in comparison to it; but let them bear that Proportion among themselves, that they may appear to be an entire and perfect body.⁶

Alberti's logical approach to architecture began with a consideration of problems of region, then the building site, platforms and foundations of building, compartition, walls, roofs, and so on down to the details and ornaments of architecture. Alberti urged architects to consider and respect the nature of the materials of construction with which they build. His treatise contains many essays on the proper selection and uses of stone, timber, brick, and other building materials. Some of this practical information was taken from ancient authors such as Vitruvius, Pliny, Theostratus, and Varro, whose authority is acknowledged by Alberti, but much of it seems to be based on Alberti's practical experience of architecture or his observations. Alberti's main interest seems to have been in the functional elements of architecture and their interrelationships.

Ornament should be adapted to the proportions of the basic geometric shapes and to their uses. Architectural beauty, according to Alberti, is, as we have observed, a matter of harmony of parts. Beauty is something "innate," and does not reside in ornament, which is "added" and an "auxiliary brightness and improvement to Beauty."⁷

Alberti's point of view toward ornament is related to, and is an interesting modification of the point of view of Vincent of Beauvais whose thirteenth century encyclopedia article on architecture was well known in the fifteenth century. Printed editions of his *Speculum doctrinale* appeared in Strasbourg in 1472 and in Venice in 1494. According to E. P. Goldschmidt, Vincent was read as much in the fifteenth century as he was before in the mediaeval period.⁸ Vincent placed great emphasis upon the value of convenient, useful form, regulated by human measurement (such as the dimension of hand or leg), and stressed the importance of logic and sound construction. These factors alone, if properly attended to, produce a kind of beauty. Ornamental beauty is an adjunct type of beauty which may be added to an edifice whose masses and spaces are useful and pleasing. For Vincent, ornament was not just carving, it was a category or type of beauty which was produced by the appeal of such things as color, rich, well-worked materials, painting, and carved decoration.⁹

Alberti's remarks on the relation of architecture to nature are noteworthy. According to Leon's transla-

tion, Alberti urged architects to "imitate the Modesty" of nature. What he meant by "modesty" was probably a humble devotion to purpose wherein all the constituent parts of a building take their proper relative positions, and wherein all the constituent parts are no larger or more prominent than they need to be according to their proper offices. This is implied in his statement: "Let the Members therefore be modestly proportioned and necessary for your Uses."¹⁰ In his recapitulation of the principles of compartition, Alberti states:

The chief and first ornament of anything is to be free from all improprieties. It will therefore be a just and proper Compartment, if it is neither confused nor interrupted, neither too rambling nor composed of unsuitable parts, and if the Members be neither too many nor too few, neither too small nor too large, not mismatcht nor unsightly, nor as it were separate and divided from the rest of the Body: but every thing so disposed according to Nature and convenience, and the uses for which the structure is intended, with such order, number size, situation, and form, that we may be satisfied there is nothing throughout the whole Fabrick, but what was contrived for some use or convenience, and with the handsomest compactness of all the parts. . . . The whole composition of the Members therefore shou'd seem to be made and directed entirely by necessity and conveniency; so that you may not be so much pleased that there are such or such parts in the building, as that they are disposed and laid out in such a situation, order and connection.¹¹

This quotation is a strong testimony of Alberti's functionalist attitude toward architectural planning and of his use of the organic concept.

Alberti had recourse to the organic analogy in comparing the early architecture of the Italian peninsula with the architecture of the Roman Empire. "Italy, in her first beginning, having regard wholly to parsimony, concluded that the members in buildings ought to be contrived in the same manner as in animals; as, for instance, in a Horse, whose limbs are generally most beautiful when they are most useful for service: from whence they inferred that beauty was never separate and distinct from conveniency."¹² The architects of the imperial age, in the opinion of Alberti, did not reject the old organic architecture but, "thought it most laudable to join the magnificence of the most profuse Monarchs, to the ancient parsimony and frugal contrivance of their own Country."¹³ Alberti does not make clear how many of the more ostentatious edifices of Rome could possibly represent anything less than a rejection of the principle of parsimonious organic architecture. In fact, in considering further the relationship between nature and architecture, Alberti sharply criti-

6. *The Architecture of Leon Battista Alberti*, I, p. 12.

7. *ibid.*, II, p. 3.

8. Cf. E. P. Goldschmidt, *Mediaeval Texts and Their First Appearances in Print*, published as Supplement to the Bibliographical Society's Transactions, No. 16, London, Oxford University Press, 1943, p. 81.

9. Cf. Vincentius Bellovacensis, *Speculum doctrinale*, Venice, 1494, cols. 160-173.

10. *The Architecture of Leon Battista Alberti*, I, p. 12.

11. *ibid.*, II, p. 8.

12. *ibid.*, II, pp. 4 and 5.

13. *ibid.*, II, p. 5.

cized the designers of the harbor works of Claudius and Hadrian for the folly of trying to strive against nature rather than work with it. Alberti warns his reader not to strive directly contrary to the nature of things. "For Nature, if you force or wrest her out of her way, whatever Strength you may do it with, will yet in the end overcome and break thro' all opposition and hindrance; and the most obstinate violence will at last be forced to yield to her daily and continual Perseverance assisted by length of time. How many of the mighty Works of Men do we read of, and know ourselves to have been destroy'd by no other cause than that they contended against Nature?"¹⁴

In summing up his ideas on the organic analogy, Alberti states conclusively: "The most expert Artists among the Ancients . . . were of [the] opinion that an Edifice was like a[n] Animal, so that in the formation of it we ought to imitate Nature."¹⁵ But Alberti, like some modern architects and critics, is inconclusive when he goes beyond the mere organic analogy to the reasons why it is valid. Aesthetic judgment is not a matter of mere opinion; it derives "from a secret argument and discourse implanted in the mind itself," he wrote, but added, "Whence this sensation of the mind arises, and how it is formed, would be a question too subtle for this place."¹⁶ Number, finishing, and collocation, which are subject to congruity, are the categories of qualities common to beautiful objects as observed by Alberti. This is true of the beauty of natural objects, in fact, these may be thought of as laws of nature which also operate in architecture. The incongruous manifestation of these qualities results in deformity.¹⁷ The main points of Alberti's functionalist-organic theory may be summarized as follows:

(1) Architecture imitates the principles of art which are in nature's organic creations; and (2) just as one organic body differs from the other so too does one building differ from the other and for the same reason: end, purpose, or function.

Alberti's theory of architecture was functionalistic to a degree not indicated by the actual buildings which he designed, and his frequent use of the organic analogy shows greater subtlety and sophistication than many later Renaissance critics, such as Vasari, who limited the organic analogy to a rather superficial comparison of the physical features of architecture and human anatomy.¹⁸

Even a cursory reading of *De re aedificatoria* shows that Alberti applied a great variety of functionalist and extrafunctionalist criteria in his analysis of architecture without integrating or correlating all of them within a

system. Thus, in the twelfth chapter of the first book which is a discussion of doors and windows, Alberti invoked a succession of criteria including fitness for use, structural soundness, pure abstract proportion, geometrically regulated proportion, bilateral axial balance about a visual focal point, the mystical significance of number, and the beauty achieved by the ornamentation of architecture with paintings or sculptured statues. At times, Alberti's reverence for the architectural precedent of the ancient Romans leads him to commend a form for little reason other than that it conforms to classical practice.

Alberti's treatise is, in truth, a composite of ideas, some of which are incompatible if carried to their logical conclusion. Sooner or later the demands of usage and structure appear antithetical. These, in turn, constantly run afoul of such things as geometric systems of proportion or bilateral axial balance. Architecture, we are told, is to be governed by judgment and reason; materials and methods of construction directly affect proportion; this is bound to upset preconceived systems of numerical or geometrical relationships which Alberti also admired and commended for our use. But Alberti seems to have been happily oblivious of this danger. Alberti's exuberant, synoptic point of view also led him into certain ambiguities. One of his most serious ambiguities with respect to the interrelation of form and function is his failure to distinguish adequately between different types of purpose: whether the purpose of a building (or part of a building) be the amusement of an individual, the well-being of society as a whole, or something intermediate. This distinction is important to his relativistic theory of beauty wherein there is a different beauty in each beautiful object in accordance with the unique purpose of each object. But it is unfair as well as unprofitable to parade the weaknesses of Alberti's treatise. In a sense, Alberti's weakness is the source of his strength. We moderns can feel a sympathetic kinship with Alberti's acceptance of a wide variety of criteria. Certainly he appreciated the complexity of the creative process and aesthetic judgment. A world of creative opportunity opened before his eyes and he approached art with a mind untroubled by philosophical doubts about the creative process or the nature of beauty. He was confident that the individual human judgment, based on reason and good taste in the service of man's real needs, is the integrator which brings a delightful order out of the chaos of conflicting criteria and ambiguous meaning. This is the center of his theoretical outlook: the judgment of the individual.

14. *ibid.*, I, p. 21.

15. *ibid.*, II, p. 84.

16. *ibid.*, II, p. 85.

17. Alberti's discussion of the principles of number, collocation, finishing, and congruity can be found *ibid.*, II, pp. 85 and 86. My brief definition of these complex ideas is as follows: number is the correct number, size, and type of parts; collocation is the proper disposition of the parts in space; finishing combines the idea of surface treatment with technical excellence; and congruity is the conformity of the parts with one another as well as the whole, and of the whole to purpose. Number, collocation, and finishing are subject to the more

comprehensive principle of congruity.

18. See, for example, Giorgio Vasari, *Vasari on Technique* (trans. into English by Louisa S. Maclehouse, ed. by G. Baldwin Brown, London, Dent, 1907, pp. 96 and 97), wherein Vasari describes his ideal palace façade divided as is the face of a man with doorway low down and in the middle, as in the head the mouth of a man, "through which passes every sort of food; the windows for the eyes, one on this side, one on that, observing always parity," etc. Vasari goes on to compare the courtyard of the palace with the trunk of a man, and the staircases with the arms and legs of his body.

Rudolf Wittkower has performed a great service to aesthetics and art history by his scholarly book, *Architectural Principles of the Age of Humanism*, because he has expanded our idea of the content of Renaissance architectural form, but for me spatial mathematics is not the distinguishing feature or the integrating factor of humanist Renaissance architecture; moreover this architecture does not exemplify, as Wittkower suggests, a hierarchy of values because hierarchy implies fixed principles and authoritative organization.¹⁹ In my opinion the distinguishing feature of the fifteenth century is the freedom of approach, the open mind, of men like Alberti. Alberti's executed work as well as his written philosophy of architecture embodies a rich contexture of assorted values but he did not arrange them in order of their ultimate importance. The organization which Alberti does employ is the

organization of the creative process. He presents in logical and chronological sequence the problems which confront the architect as he goes about the process of designing and creating a building. The emphasis is upon creation as a process and end rather than upon process as regulation or rule. For me, the essential humanism of Alberti lies in this, and in his key principle that architectural form should, first and foremost, serve human need, convenience, and pleasure. Abstract-metaphysical criteria such as spatial geometry, number, numerical ratios, and so forth, play their appropriate role in the theory of Alberti just as they do in the theory of a modern architect such as Le Corbusier, but they are subordinate to the humanistic principle that architectural form depends upon service to the manifold needs of man.

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19. Cf. Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, 2d ed., London, Alec Tiranti Ltd., 1952, pp. 1-49. Wittkower interprets Alberti's definition of beauty as fundamentally a "mathematical definition" (p. 6), a mathematical harmony of integrated proportions to which nothing can be added or anything taken away without destroy-

ing the harmony of the whole. In accordance with this interpretation, harmony and its antonym, discord, must be expressed in the rational symbols of mathematics, but they are ultimately metaphysical concepts not subject to rational analysis or explanation.

BOOK REVIEWS

JOHN BEAZLEY, *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters*, London-New York. Oxford University Press, 1956. Pp. xvi + 851. \$20.20.

This book contains lists of works of some 230 vase-painters. Only about 22 of them sign their names; and most of these are primarily users of the red-figure technique or are men who apparently decorated very few pieces and those, generally, of little interest. Even more than in red-figure, the psychology of signatures seems queer. Only five black-figure painters of importance—Sophilos, Kleitias, Nearchos, Lydos, and Exekias—are known by their true names. There are about 57 potters who sign their names, and potter signatures are far more numerous than painter signatures: Nikosthenes signs more than a hundred vases, and several other potters sign much oftener than any painter.

The attributions to painters do not by any means constitute the whole of the book. Many of the lists are followed by supplements containing pieces "near," "manner of," "imitation of," or "related to" the painter. Then there are about 190 "groups" or "classes." A "group" comprises pieces of which the decoration, though not all assignable to one painter, is interrelated in style; a "class" comprises pieces interrelated in form. The Polos Painter has the longest list of attributions, numbering 159; but the Leafless Group comprises 249 pieces, the Leagros Group 298, and no less than 710 are listed under "Manner of the Haimon Painter." Thus the book offers, besides the definition of individuals among black-figure vase-painters, an arrangement or charting of black-figure pottery.

Naturally it does not include every existing piece. Of 44 decorated black-figure kylixes in the second *Corpus Vasorum* fascicule of the Metropolitan Museum, 24 are included in the book. Of 19 decorated "Little Master" kylixes in Albizzati's catalogue of the Vatican collection, only seven are present; of a series of 43 amphoras there (nos. 370-412), 30 are present; of 16 hydrias (nos. 416-431), ten are present. Such statistics may be misleading because the missing pieces are often fragmentary or meagerly painted. There is likely to be little complaint that the volume is not comprehensive enough; and, though there will be in the future plenty of contributions in the black-figure field, there will be few indeed that are not based largely on this book. Two sets of addenda, dated December 1954 and July 1955, show the author's untiring efforts to increase the usefulness of his work.

Although the 44 chapters have titles, there is no table of contents; this is probably not the result of oversight, but the reader may well regret the lack. The name of the potter Timagora, or Timagoras according to Beazley's conviction, is not in the index. I have come across another flaw or two, but errors and deficiencies are certainly very few in proportion to the opportunity for them.

Sir John Beazley is the foremost authority on Attic

vase-painting. There are few considerable areas in the field of scholarship in which the primacy of one man is so well recognized and his margin of leadership so great. In Etruscan pottery and in ancient gems his work is of primary importance; and his chapters on Greek sculpture and painting, written for the Cambridge Ancient History and published separately, along with Ashmole's excellent sections on the Hellenistic period, in 1932, can hardly be surpassed for their length and scope. Beazley's massive contribution to archaeology and art depends essentially on perception, memory, and judgment of style and form, and would have been little affected if he had not known alpha from omega. However, it appears that his first publication (I regret not having seen it) was *Herodotus at the Zoo* (1907), which won the Gaisford Greek Prose Prize; and evidence of profound acquaintance with Greek language, literature, and epigraphy constantly crops up in his writings. No archaeologist was surprised, though probably some philologists were, at the acknowledgment to Beazley in the preface of Fraenkel's great edition of the *Agamemnon*.

The present book is one of his major works. One hopes that there will be many more to come.

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GEORGE H. FORSYTH, JR., *The Church of St. Martin at Angers* (Princeton Monographs for Art and Archaeology, XXVIII), Princeton University Press, 1953. Pp. XIV + 267; 229 figs.; portfolio (16 plates). \$35.00.

These pages must start with an apology. Mr. Forsyth's volume was published a full three years ago, and a review was long overdue. The reasons for the delay are manifold and they are of a personal nature. Suffice it to give one excuse for many: the book is so full of information that every word wants reading and re-reading more than once.

Studies on architecture fall, by and large, into two classes. Either they discuss groups of buildings from a historical, typological, or iconographic angle; this approach is, at least intentionally, broad in outlook and at times fascinating in its problematics, but more often than not deficient in sound factual basis. Or else they are monographs and excavation reports, factual in approach and, at least intentionally, sound but often tedious and lacking in perspective. Mr. Forsyth, in the present volume, has achieved the difficult feat of fusing the advantages of the two approaches without the shortcomings of either. He presents us with the outstanding example of a monograph which remains meticulously accurate in every word and drawing, bent upon every least detail and exploiting it towards a careful reconstruction of the history and the successive

phases of the building, yet broad in perspective and fascinating in every line.

The church of St. Martin at Angers has aroused the interest of mediaeval archaeologists for well over a century. Since the days of Gailhabaud it was known to contain an important pre-Romanesque core. But this core remained undetermined as to structure and date; it was assigned alternately to Merovingian and Carolingian times, and only occasionally was the possibility envisaged that both periods might have left their traces in its building. Thus any attempt at using the structure as an element in illuminating the, alas, so obscure history of early mediaeval architecture in Western Europe was bound to fail. In two decades of painstaking study, interrupted by the war, Mr. Forsyth has completely changed the situation. In his presentation, the analysis of the building turns into far more than a descriptive monograph. It becomes a study in what the French call *la permanence des sites*. Structures on structures have succeeded each other on the site of the present church, from Roman to Merovingian, Carolingian, Romanesque, and Early Gothic times, in function changed from a modest "villa" to what may have been a hermit's stone hut, to a Christian oratory, and finally to one of the great abbey churches of Western France, in design altered from a plain "box church" to a complex, almost centralized structure. Yet Mr. Forsyth goes far beyond this study, broad though it is. He places the buildings of St. Martin as they succeed one another within the framework of Early Christian architecture, East and West, and of Early and High Mediaeval building in Western Europe.

Methods and tools of architectural research have been employed to perfection. The result of the excavations has been coupled with a meticulous study of the stratification and of the finds unearthed, whether coins or potsherds. The masonry and the color and composition of the mortar are carefully analyzed, the measurements interpreted in terms of contemporary, that is, Roman or Early Mediaeval, metrology. All this becomes possible through a thorough analytical survey of the entire structure presented in dozens of plans, sections, and elevations, in detailed descriptions of the findings and in a rich array of photographs. Mr. Forsyth has the great advantage over so many architectural historians, including the present writer, of being trained both as an historian and as an architect.

Situated a quarter of a mile outside the Gallo-Roman *oppidum* of Angers, the site of St. Martin was occupied originally by a modest villa extending along a suburban road on its southeast boundary. First settled in the course of the first century A.D., its buildings were apparently remodeled time and again. Using both archaeological and numismatic evidence, Mr. Forsyth has been able to distinguish five building phases. The two most prominent periods (II & III), because of the resemblance of the good *à petits moëllons* masonry to dated Gallo-Roman buildings in the vicinity and the presence of numerous dated coins in the respective strata, would seem to fall in the third quarter of the third century; in a fourth phase, datable, perhaps,

around the middle of the fourth century, the quality of the masonry drops, and it should be noted that shortly afterwards, perhaps during the second half of the fourth and certainly during the fifth century, burials began to occupy the site. A modest abode, possibly that of a hermit, seems to have risen among the Roman ruins.

Shortly after 500 A.D., the site was resettled. A building in *petit-appareil* following the traditions of Gallo-Roman masonry technique rose above the scant remains of the earlier villa, extending also over the Roman road. The excavation has traced the outlines of a rectangular building, subdivided by a transverse wall. At the short southeast end of the structure, two arches seem to have projected, leading, perhaps, into adjoining rooms. Mr. Forsyth thinks hesitatingly of a Merovingian villa, but he points out that numerous burials, none of them, unfortunately, yielding funeral gifts, invaded the area.

The building was abandoned about 650 A.D., and a new oratory rose in its place, the first to be clear in its outlines. It consists of a rectangular room, exactly as long as its predecessor and, like the latter, crossed by a transverse wall. It uses the Merovingian foundations and portions of the Merovingian walls throughout, but it adds a number of elements. A horseshoe apse projects to the southeast; a rectangular room, apparently a sacristy, at the south corner. A portico, closed off towards the main room, runs the entire length of the north flank. On this basis, Mr. Forsyth is able to suggest a convincing reconstruction: a single-naved chapel, divided into a nave and chancel by a triple arcade—half piers on either side and two column bases have been traced—the chancel ending in an apse and communicating through narrow doorways with the sacristy to the right and with the northeast end of the portico to the left. Mr. Forsyth convincingly suggests that this end was shut off from the rest of the portico by a wall and, indeed, other doors connect the long northwest end of the portico on one hand with the nave, on the other with the outside. Hence, the chapel belongs to a large class of "box churches" which, from the fifth through the eighth century, abound both in the Near East and in Europe. The dedication of the oratory to SS. Martin and Loup makes it likely that it was the mortuary chapel of Bishop Lupus (d. ca. A.D. 675), a hypothesis supported by the existence of numerous early mediaeval cemeteries and burial chapels in the close vicinity of St. Martin.

A new project was begun in late Carolingian times, either around 853 or around 872; it was interrupted and finally revived around 950. Adjoining the end wall of the small oratory, the foundations of a transept were laid out, each wing at its short end terminating in a horseshoe apse, with a total length of 36.25 m. The foundation walls of a chancel, likewise ending in an apse, and flanked by two lateral rooms, either side chapels or sacristies, continue beyond the transept. Whether this first trefoil plan was to be centered around a crossing tower is doubtful; a new nave with aisles may have been planned but not executed. When,

after roughly a century, construction was revived, the crossing piers and arches, the chancel and the three apses were built; they stand in part to a height of, over 10 meters. The building of the nave remained in abeyance, but parts of the façade were executed. Mr. Forsyth reconstructs over the crossing a tower, possibly low, but surmounted by a tall triple spire, much like those known through old reproductions and descriptions to have existed in the ninth and eleventh centuries at Centula, St. Wandrille, St. Bertin, and Chartres, and perhaps as early as the fifth and sixth centuries at Nantes and Clermont-Ferrand. For the reconstruction of the projected nave with five arcades on piers opening into aisles, he uses the proportions of the early ninth century basilica of Steinbach and of the nave which, with slight changes, was finally executed at St. Martin in the eleventh century. Indeed, the early Romanesque church of the eleventh century carries out with but the slightest changes the late Carolingian project: the crossing tower is vaulted, its walls and those of the transept slightly lowered while the chancel walls are raised; the nave and the rooms flanking the chancel are finally built. The survival of the Carolingian project into the eleventh century is, in fact, so clearly marked that Mr. Forsyth is led to assume that the early Romanesque architect worked with the drawings of his tenth century predecessor. Given both the extent and the limitations of our knowledge regarding architectural drawings and models of Carolingian times, the hypothesis is perfectly possible: the drawings of Arculf and the plan of St. Gall, both mentioned in this connection by Mr. Forsyth, are perhaps less telling than the wax model of St. Germain at Auxerre. But of course it cannot be proved. Even assuming such direct transmission of a Carolingian model, the eleventh century design of St. Martin at Angers remains remarkably conservative. After all, it is nearly contemporary with Mont St. Michel, with the early Romanesque church of St. Martin at Tours and with the first cathedral of Speyer. Angers, by the turn of the millennium, had become a backwater, and it remained a backwater when, in the twelfth century, the upper portions of the crossing tower were rebuilt and a longish chancel was added with sexpartite rib vaults.

In discussing the *locus historicus* of the "box church" oratory, the author arrives at the conclusion (p. 61) that it represents "a simple native architectural stock on which more complex Near-Eastern forms and ideas have been grafted," such as the chancel arcade, the closed-off long side portico and, flanking the chancel, the sacristy, or (if Mr. Forsyth's conjecture is correct) two sacristies, resulting in a T-plan. Quite naturally, this reviewer is attracted by such an investigation of the Near Eastern roots of Western architecture in the Dark Ages and gladly agrees with the broad lines of Mr. Forsyth's view, tempered as it is by his cautious emphasis on our woeful ignorance of the period. I am particularly pleased by his convincing suggestion of the routes by which Near Eastern elements might have reached seventh century Gaul, a southern one, via Dalmatia, Istria, and the Alpine regions, and a north-

ern one via England. Perhaps I am more inclined today to see residuals of provincial Roman architecture surviving in the backwaters of both Europe and the Near East, that is, "native stock," where fifteen years ago I would have seen only Near Eastern influences. Single-naved forum basilicas with a rectangular tribunal were widespread in Roman provincial towns all over the Empire. Hence, the appearance of the type in fourth century churches in Istria and in seventh century churches in Gaul may simply have a common Roman-provincial root. A feature such as the triple chancel arcade, on the other hand, may well have a slightly different history. Used in provincial forum basilicas such as Doclea to screen off the tribunal, it certainly has a Roman root; in the course of the fourth century it absorbed sacred connotations from the Imperial fastigium and thus survived in Christianized form. But rather than surviving generally, it maintained itself during the fifth and sixth centuries only in a few backward provinces such as North Africa and Syria. From there, and perhaps from North Africa rather than from Syria, it may well have been transmitted, presumably via Rome, to southern England, and thence, as suggested by Mr. Forsyth, to northwestern Gaul.

Throughout, our assessment of Dark Ages architecture is hampered by our ignorance of chronology, regional development, and clear typological differences. It is, moreover, hampered through the fact that, certainly in the East, but to a large degree also in the West, the great monuments of architecture have left no trace. As a result we are left with small village churches in backward stretches of the countryside and these backwoods examples which have survived by chance in Syria, Cappadocia, Gaul, and Carinthia unduly dominate the picture we have formed of Early Christian and Dark Ages architecture. What Mr. Forsyth calls the T-plan falls, it seems to this reviewer, into two distinct groups. In one type, the rooms flanking the chancel are low and shut off from the nave either by walls or by colonnades or simply by a raised step. A fourth century type, it is known to us at this moment only through a few small village chapels, listed by Mr. Forsyth, in the Syrian provinces. To be sure, it is possible that these village chapels had their prototype in monumental churches in the Eastern capitals, Constantinople, Antioch, and Nicomedia. But as long as the architecture of these capitals is unknown to us, any such assumption must remain hypothetical. But the type had a center in the heart of Europe, as witness the monumental churches of Milan and its neighborhood, recently brought to light, the *basilica apostolorum*, S. Simpliciano, and S. Abbondio at Como. From Milan the plan seems to have spread to the small fifth and sixth century churches of Dalmatia and the Carinthian *limes*, and I think it possible that Milan remained a center from which, in the seventh century, the type penetrated the Alpine valleys (Romainmôtier, Dos Trentos) and was brought by missionaries to England and, either directly or via England, to Angers. In short, I would not consider it necessary to establish, on the basis of flanking sacristies alone, a direct link

between Syrian chapels of the fifth and sixth centuries and Frankish and English oratories of the seventh century.

The second T-plan type, on the other hand, is characterized by the presence of a tower over the crossing and of regular transept wings, equaling the nave in length. This type, no doubt, is well known in the Near East, and its first examples date, if not from the fifth, certainly from the sixth century. But it survived apparently for a long time in Cappadocia: Sivri Hissar, as Mr. Forsyth and I found out on a visit in 1954, is probably an eleventh century structure. Thus the type could well exert its impact on Western art from the sixth and seventh century on. Whether the type had a second, independent root in Europe and whether, indeed, it appears there prior to the seventh century, must remain open. In any event, I fear I cannot agree on seeing any impact of this type in the first "box church" oratory of St. Martin, and I would hesitate to characterize the chancel parts of that oratory as a centralized feature permeated by memorial connotations. Under the impact of André Grabar's *Martyrium* we all are perhaps sometimes apt to see the form of the memoria where only its function has survived in faint reflections.

No doubt the ninth century project of St. Martin is dominated by a tall tower from which radiate the four wings, nave, transept arms and chancel. But by then the type of the cross church had become common property throughout Europe, from Spain to the Rhineland and farther east. To the numerous examples quoted by Mr. Forsyth, a few more can be added, such as Pfalzel, Mettlach, and Neustadt on the Main. But so far it remains unclear how the type penetrated into western France, whether by way of Spain or of England or whether both influences met at St. Martin. Mr. Forsyth rightly leaves the question undecided.

The trouble with stimulating books is that they lead the reviewer to mention problems he is unable to solve himself. Mr. Forsyth's is such a book and historians of architecture will base themselves on it for decades to come. It is exemplary in its way.

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DOROTHY C. SHORR, *The Christ Child in Devotional Images in Italy During the XIV Century*, New York, George Wittenborn, Inc., 1954. Pp. 219; 450 ills. \$12.50.

Although the vast corpus of early Italian painting has gained gradual systematization since the mid-

nineteenth century in terms mainly of stylistic analysis, there have also been efforts to order the field according to iconographical, typological, or mechanical patterns. There come to mind immediately Van Marle's index to the Dugento and Trecento volumes of his study of the Italian schools,¹ Vavalà's studies of the Madonna and of the painted crucifix,² Kaftal's projected three-volume hagiographical dictionary,³ and Garrison's index of Italian "Romanesque" panel painting,⁴ works of varying intention which have in common the application of a nonstylistic method to all or to an essential segment of the material; it is with such a group that Mrs. Shorr's intensive and handsomely published study of the Christ Child in early Italian painting may be associated.

This study was prompted by the author's observation that in the later thirteenth century a new, more humanized religious sentiment gave rise to significant changes in the painted representation of the Virgin and Child. The major contemporary evidence of a more personal conception of the Deity was the rise of the Franciscan Order, with its ideals of brotherhood and simplicity most clearly recorded in the gentle sentiment and homely imagery of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* of the Pseudo-Bonaventura. Within this new emotional milieu the explicitly dramatic and personal aspects of late Byzantine art found a sympathetic reception, although with the infiltration into Italy of this Neohellenistic strain (a term avoided by the author), the sentiment of religious art became more mild and implicit. In the representation of the Madonna a new intimacy of relationship is discernible in the later Dugento in the greater degree of psychological and physical interchange between the Mother and Child, with the latter serving as the more active element. Toward the close of the Dugento and particularly during the first quarter of the Trecento, more and more types of Child appear within the familiar contexts of the three radical forms of Byzantine Virgin that had survived into this period in the Italian tradition, that is, the *Hodegetria*, the *Glykophilousa* (*Eleousa* or *Affettuosa*) and the *Galactotrophousa* (*Lactans*). Whereas the Virgin remained in expression essentially the majestic Mother of God, the Child had become more human and responsive, losing his earlier dogmatic semblance and ultimately dominating the observer's attention through his freer activity and comparative naturalness.

It is the newly acquired and broader range of pose and gesture of a more variedly active infant that has served as the author's determinant for establishing some nine iconographical categories of Child, with anywhere from two to six related subtypes in any one category. The method of presentation of these numerous divisions, thirty-five in all, is to introduce each with a

1. R. van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, vi, The Hague, 1925.

2. E. Sandberg-Vavalà, *L'iconografia della Madonna col Bambino nella pittura italiana del Dugento*, Siena, 1934; *idem*, *La croce dipinta italiana e l'iconografia della Passione*, Verona, 1929.

3. Thus far, the first of this projected series has appeared: G. Kaftal, *Saints in Italian Art, Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting*, Florence, 1952.

4. E. B. Garrison, *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting*, Florence, 1949.

verbal description of the type, a brief suggestion of the emotional attitude motivating it and a discussion of its general origins, as well as its sources and history within the Italian tradition through the Trecento. In these introductions there has been incorporated a vast and useful amount of historical and archaeological information for which the student of iconography must offer considerable gratitude. Following each introduction of a specific type is a series of illustrations, chiefly of panels, and occasionally of frescoes, mosaics, and sculpture, with as many as nine small but usually legible cuts grouped on a single page. The illustrations are arranged generally in chronological order and follow closely the sequence of discussions of these same examples in the introductions to the various types. A suggestion of geographical diffusion and frequency is also introduced in these groups of examples by an identification of the school both in the discussion of each picture and in the caption beneath its illustration. But the author cautions that such indications of frequency must remain inconclusive as proof of origins of types or regional preferences, for although Florence and Siena are surely the major centers of invention of variants on the Child, such variants may also arise simultaneously within other schools and, once established in one tradition, may appear in another school with an equal or even greater frequency.

Particularly welcome in this study are the many panels illustrated for the first time, and in some cases given their initial publication. The author acknowledges a large debt to Richard Offner for the range of illustrative material and also for many of the attributions. Surely her willingness to undertake the task of assembling so great a quantity of factual and illustrative material attests to the conscientiousness of Mrs. Shorr's scholarship. The bibliographical and other critical apparatus as well as the extensive indexing are impeccable in their method and dependability.

In a general introduction devoted in part to a discussion of the long-established types of Byzantine Virgin and Child and also to a "defense" of iconographical analysis in art-historical method—including a lapidary definition of iconography by Dr. Offner—it is admitted that the actual number of expressively significant variations in the appearance of the Child are few: he either sits, reclines, or stands erect on the Virgin's arm or knee, while the gesture of his right hand and the position of his head are the only features that seem to imply some sort of theological and psychological content. In fact, it is the variations in these latter two components—gesture of right hand and position of head—that have formed the criteria for the thirty-five types of Child established in the study. Although this typological division is surely a valid method for ordering a mass of generically related material within which certain patterns of variance are discernible, nonetheless, by affording more emphasis to the thirty-five subtypes than to the large categories containing them, such as "The Child Blesses" or "The Child Expresses Affection," an overfragmentation of the material results which obfuscates the essential

nature and meaning of the Child's image in relation to the Virgin. For example, it is difficult to see why a large category entitled "The Child Presses His Cheek to the Virgin's Face" should then include such subtypes as "Embraces Her Neck," "Presses His Cheek to the Virgin's Chin," "Caresses Her Chin," while much later in the study a quite separate category is introduced and entitled "The Child Expresses Affection," being in turn divided into such types as "Extends His Hand to the Virgin's Cheek or Veil," "Extends His Hand to the Virgin's Neck," and so on. My objection to this method is that all of these types, whether or not they are variants on the long-established *Glykophilousa* type, might better be more concordantly examined as motifs giving various traditional as well as new guises to the single, nuclear concept of affectionate relationship between Mother and Child.

Other divisions are effected in this study where more unity of presentation would have been desirable, as a result of a method that tends to give more emphasis to the pure mechanics of posture and gesture rather than to their fullest expressive implications. For example, a full category composed of two subtypes is devoted to the theme of the "Child Suckles at His Mother's Breast" (Type 9, Seated; Type 10, Reclining, Kneeling, Standing), but the motif of the Child reaching down into the Virgin's robe is introduced under the heading of "The Child Expresses Affection." Granted that the *Lactans* type is based on a specifically definable function which warrants its treatment within a category distinct from the general one denoted as "affectionate," it is nonetheless disturbing to see the motif of the Child reaching into the Mother's robe relegated to a category ("The Child Expresses Affection") far from the *Lactans* type, which the infant's act subtly implies. It is true that the relationship is mentioned, but only as a passing reference rather than as a basic expressive connection.

It would be quite unjust to imply that the author's analyses of the iconographical types are devoid of expressive interpretation. Indeed, numerous tersely written suggestions of dramatic and psychic meaning are to be found, but they are scattered through the dense mass of factual and descriptive material and therefore seem to serve more as insertions than inherently important parts of the study. Although Mrs. Shorr suggests that a significant aim of her book is to "stimulate further exploration of this important field" (i.e. iconographic definition), such stimulus might have been given stronger projection if fuller attention had been devoted to more concorded analyses of the expressive implications of any single iconographic category along with its types. In this direction, it would perhaps have been effective if as a final section of the study there had been presented a broad and reintegrating résumé of the minutely fragmented material so that the few essential and traditional versions of the relationship between the Mother and Child might be observed in the new light of the many variations on the Child now established by the author. Only in brief introductory remarks are such synthesizing interpretations offered. It is true

that no dictionary is intended to offer sentences or paragraphs, much less critical appraisals; but what differentiates the function of this study from that of an iconographical dictionary, although its particularization suggests such a genre, is that the imagery of a specific theological concept has been considered, thereby arousing the desire even in the mind of the specialist for a larger and more cohesively presented view of the meaning of minute variations within this imagery, even though such interpretations must at times be only tentative. Is this desire not particularly aroused when the theme under consideration is so deeply grounded in a relationship that radiates personal and theological import?

Regardless of such purely individual reactions to the author's method, this serious and learned study will have lasting value as a compendium of illustrations of Madonna compositions and, even more, as a quarry of dependable fact concerning the origins and evolution of the iconography of the Virgin and Child, beyond particular variations on the second element of that pair. Mrs. Shorr's book will be crucial for any future bibliography of the Madonna in art.

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HAROLD E. WETHEY, *Alonso Cano: Painter, Sculptor, Architect*, Princeton University Press, 1955. Pp. xiv + 227; 168 pls. \$15.00.

Those of us who love and admire the Spanish painters of the seventeenth century have waited long to know Alonso Cano as well as we know his contemporaries. He has indeed never been obscure or neglected, for a brief account of his life and achievement was written even while he lived, a longer and somewhat extravagant biography was fabricated by the garrulous Palomino little more than fifty years after his death, and, in the least significant of the historian's anecdotes, two nineteenth century authors discovered the stuff of romance. His fame grew as the truth was attenuated. Collectors sought his works and more hopefully than critically attached his name to the drawings, the numerous paintings, and even the statues that they acquired by bequest, purchase, and plunder. Inevitably Cano had to be stripped of the factitious disguise that had been put upon him. Serious research was undertaken chiefly by Andalusian scholars, among them members of three generations of the Granadine family Gómez-Moreno, and by López Martínez, Hernández Díaz, Díaz-Jiménez, and Martínez Chumillas. But the material that they garnered, great in sum, has come to us bit by bit, inadequately illustrated, and sometimes deliberately restricted to but one field of the artist's activity. Lately archives have yielded an increment to the few facts hitherto known.

Professor Wethey therefore assumed a truly stupendous labor of collecting, correcting, judging, and

justifying. He was concerned, moreover, with the only Spanish artist who was painter, sculptor, and architect, who worked in the minor arts as well, and who left to posterity such drawings and sketches as would have confirmed his genius though nothing else survived. Cano was neither at first nor at the very last a painter; but his brush was his busiest tool, perhaps that which he preferred, and, certainly as we examine his total output, the most effective. Dr. Wethey has chosen to emphasize the pictorial accomplishment in the title of his book; immediately he tells us that Cano's "most significant contribution, comprehensively viewed, lay in painting." The opinion may seem mildly heretical to those students who have mistakenly come to place the higher value upon Cano the sculptor, but it is thoroughly justified. At the same time the various other fields of his labor are in no way slighted but are more thoroughly studied than ever before.

The versatility of the artist is, I think, the chief cause of our long wait for the "comprehensive view," for the complete monograph on Cano. Most of us are understandably partial to one or another of the arts; the practicing artist, when he turns to criticism, can hardly avoid a certain bias; only the modern scholar, trained as was the author, is prepared to deal with the subject of this book. Dr. Wethey was first concerned with Spanish sculptors, notably Gil de Siloe; he is the author of the monumental *Colonial Architecture and Sculpture in Peru*. The reviewer of several books devoted to Spanish painters, he has, since the appearance of *Alonso Cano*, devoted his study to one of the greatest of them. He has proved himself a researcher who likes to survey as well as to explore. He has experienced the mists that hang over the morass of history and he resists the temptation to escape them in idle flights of fancy. He is in rapport with the milieu of the Granadine artist, whom he admires sincerely but temperately. Thus he is singularly fitted to explain the personality and the diverse accomplishments of Cano.

The very handsome volume may be described as tripartite: consisting of (1) the discourse, full in scope but so clearly written that every interested reader will find it pleasant to follow; (2) the bibliography, catalogues, and much else of interest to the specialist; and (3) the excellent plates, more than a third of which were reproduced from photographs made by Mrs. Wethey expressly for this monograph. Her perseverance and infinite care enable us to enjoy in reproduction many things that were formerly accessible only to those who traveled in Spain.

With intent to relieve the pages of the discourse of the embarrassment of footnotes, the author and publisher have elected to place the many notes—218 of them—in the second of the three parts. This is a style that has modern approbation; and it has undoubtedly aesthetic advantages that outweigh a certain amount of inconvenience to the more inquisitive sort of reader. But, believing that the method tends to discourage attention to the notes, I remark that the reader of this book who gives them no more than a cursory glance will do so

to his detriment; for, apart from the fact that they mention some titles excluded from the selected bibliography, these notes contain much marrow. Note 70, for instance, is a concise epitome of the activity of the sculptor Miguel Cano, father of Alonso; note 94 dispels some misconceptions regarding Cano's presumed debt to Zurbarán and Caravaggio; and note 135, designed to correct the error of those who have described the scenes of the *Life of the Virgin* in the sanctuary of Granada Cathedral as her Seven Joys, offers as a kind of bonus some bibliographical references to the rather obscure iconography of these Seven Joys, which, in truth, deal only with the events of the motherhood of the Virgin and the infancy of her Son.

The catalogue raisonné—57 pages including the foreword—is exemplary. It includes (1)¹ Altars and Ecclesiastical Objects; (II) Paintings, (A) Life of Christ, (B) Life of the Virgin, (C) Saints and Religious Subjects, (D) Portraits; (III) Sculpture (all works in these three sections being by Cano himself); (IV) Paintings by Followers; (V) Paintings Wrongly Attributed to Alonso Cano (with useful suggestions as to the proper attribution); (VI) Lost Paintings; (VII) Prints after Alonso Cano; (VIII) Sculpture Wrongly Attributed.

In all, some 460 works are included, more than seventy being in the section here designated as II. Considering that there are only twenty pieces of authentic sculpture and that at least some of the ninety-six items in VI must have been correctly attributed, we find ample confirmation of the author's insistence upon Cano's greater importance as a painter. Noting also that V contains about 120 titles and VIII nearly thirty, we can appreciate how necessary to the proper understanding of Cano is the discarding of these erroneous attributions, some of them as remote from the master as the schools of Rubens, Van Dyck, and Stanzione, others originating in Venice and Austria. The inclusion of these sections V and VIII is to be commended; lists of unacceptable attributions are too often omitted from catalogues of this kind. As Dr. Wethey says, such jetsam "must be firmly rejected and cast aside so that the authentic works may speak for themselves."

There should eventually be some accretion to the list of authentic products as works in storerooms and private collections come to light and win recognition. Thus Dr. Wethey, with nice discernment, removes the fine though damaged *Jeronymite Monk* of the Musée Bonnat from the category of anonymous works and places it in the canon of Alonso Cano.

Every title in sections I-IV of Dr. Wethey's catalogue is followed by reference to the apposite illustration, the material or medium, the dimensions, present location, former owners and exhibitions in the case of works that have changed site, and the pertinent bibliography. There is often additional comment. This part of a book that—I venture to predict—will long remain the definitive study on Alonso Cano is of in-

calculable value and is sure to receive the prints of many thumbs.

The content of the catalogue is classified according to genre and is therefore a complement to the discourse, in which the order of the works is determined by the known or inferred date. Slight modification of the chronological arrangement is designed to permit the study of paintings to continue uninterrupted by the discussion of sculpture, architecture being treated apart.

A brief introduction, serving to orient the reader, is followed by a biography, which is actually an admirable digest of the content of two appendices wherein the justifying documents are either cited or, if elsewhere unavailable, quoted in their original form and language. Five chapters are devoted to the description and evaluation of the works both painted and carved, the demarcation following the various changes of residence, which, of course, brought new influences to bear upon the artist's style. The architectural achievement of Cano is treated in the penultimate chapter; and the book concludes with a laconic estimate of the followers Herrera Barnuevo, architect and painter; Pedro de Mena and José de Mora, sculptors; Juan de Sevilla, Bocanegra, Risueño, and Niño de Guevara, painters; and finally with a brief comparison of Cano with the six other giants of Spanish Baroque painting.

Some bounds must be set even to a work of such scope as this; therefore few drawings are discussed here that do not pertain to extant paintings or to architectural plans. For this reason too, the school of Cano is summarily treated. At our disposal, however, are the author's supplementary articles: "Alonso Cano's Drawings," *THE ART BULLETIN*, 1952; "A Drawing by Alonso Cano," *Bulletin of the University of Michigan Museum of Art*, 1952; "Juan Niño de Guevara," *Annales y boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando*, 1953; "Discípulos granadinos de Alonso Cano," *Archivo español de arte*, 1954; "Herrera Barnuevo's Work for the Jesuits of Madrid," *Art Quarterly*, 1954; "Decorative Projects by Sebastián de Herrera Barnuevo," *Burlington Magazine*, 1956; and "Sebastián de Herrera Barnuevo," *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones* (in press); all of these with illustrations. The will of Cano, abridged in the monograph, appears complete and accompanied by three facsimiles in "El testamento de Alonso Cano," *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, 1953. These companion studies, all in progress while the book was in the making, are its hardy reinforcements and should be treated by the serious investigator as if they were an integral part of the monograph.

Possibly in just two ways the enjoyment of the very informative discourse and the fine illustrations might have been enhanced. It would have been preferable from the reader's point of view to make the vertical axis of the plates—which is the longer axis in all but a few cases—parallel to the height of the page. The illustrations and the comment on them are quite inter-

1. I have supplied the numerals and letters of the separate sections in order to facilitate reference to them.

dependent, if optimum use is to be made of both, and the volume is a little too bulky for frequent turning. In other words, the reader would have liked more full-page plates; and the reviewer, while conceding that these might have put the book beyond the reach of too many purses, conjectures to what extent a more convenient arrangement would have raised the price or reduced the size of some few illustrations. There is peculiar difficulty in examining plate 103, in the transverse position, together with the text, the detail (pl. 114), and the preparatory sketch (pl. 106). The separation of the whole from its details, occurring in this case and in that of plate 135 and its details (pls. 122 and 160), though hardly commodious, is approved inasmuch as the grouping was well devised to invite comparison with germane works.

The least inconvenience will, of course, be experienced by those readers who by choice or necessity slight the text. To suggest that these will not be few in number is not to qualify my high opinion of the book, for I believe that this monograph should be much used and enjoyed by persons whose English is unequal to their interest in Cano. For them dates added to the captions of the illustrations would have been a boon. How instructive might have been the ready information that the *Bust of St. Paul* (pl. 24) was of the years 1660-1667 and its companion, the detail of another head of the same saint (pl. 25), of 1629-1631! To know the date without searching would have been a special benefit at least in this case, where there is departure from the chronological order.

An exceedingly useful adjunct to Dr. Wethey's book is the reproduction of Cano's authentic signatures and monograms (pls. 166 and 167). With them are examples of late marks of identification sometimes mistaken for signatures, of ciphers that have suffered restoration, and of outright forgeries. The custom of appending such a page, once much honored by old European authors but abated perhaps because it was so gratifying to forgers, seems, despite this disadvantage, too seldom followed by contemporary scholars. Dr. Wethey's serviceable illustrations are an example of the scrupulous care with which he defines the criteria of his judgment.

Evaluation, interpretation, even description of works of art are necessarily subjective, hence some opinions contrary to those stated by the author in Chapters III-VIII are to be expected. For my part, I merely question that *San Bernardino* and *San Juan Capistrano* (pl. 103) are properly described as "lost in mystical contemplation," for they seem rather to be in active conversation with each other. Further I would venture that "the male and female spectators" in the foreground of the *Presentation of the Virgin* (pl. 149) are her father and mother in the act of leaving after committing their daughter to her service in the Temple. Dressed respectively in the same olive-green and blue as the other two figures which also represent them on a different level of the same scene, they would thus offer a late example of that ancient convention of the "narrative style" that was still honored by the Italian Renais-

sance masters from whom Cano here took inspiration. Pious folk no doubt felt for these parents the sympathy that they would have extended to those whose only child entered a cloister. Recognized as *Saints Joachim and Anne* going home alone, the "spectators" would add a bit of pathos as sensitively expressed as is the reverence and childish wonder of the little Virgin, whose charming demeanor is so justly praised by Dr. Wethey.

Turning now to Cano's sculpture, I am tempted to remark that, unlike Dr. Wethey, I discern in the colossal *Adam* (pl. 119) little that I should describe as "foppish." Would not a fastidious dandy have groomed his thick hair, shaved the light beard of his upper lip, and above all cultivated a more civil manner? This *Adam*, though as young and handsome as the *St. John the Baptist* (pl. 34), has, to my mind, the churlish and sullen mien that characterizes some workers of the soil. His companion *Eve* (pl. 120) is a bold, alluring beauty. Her big eyes and long, graceful neck, her self-consciousness and hauteur suggest those clothiers' dummies that stare unseeing through plate glass windows. At any rate, she is as cold as they and as vain in both senses of the word—proud and empty. But, if *Adam* seems to Dr. Wethey a fop and *Eve* to me a mannequin, does this mean that Cano here descended to the level of the commonplace, far below his standard? Rather I should say that these are a soulless pair, deliberately so made; for, though they figure in the Scriptures, they were to the artist creatures of myth who had never known the state of grace or counted on redemption. As we contrast *Eve* with the *Madonna*, juxtaposed as plate 122, or *Adam* with *St. John*, we discover in Cano the same rare gift which enabled Ribera to differentiate the Apostle and the Philosopher, though both were venerable, the Magdalene and Venus, though their features are nearly alike. These masters were acutely sensitive to the spiritual grace that is lacking in the pagan but ennobles the faces of the saints.

As Dr. Wethey demonstrates, Cano had impeccable taste and extraordinary creative energy. Despite his receptive mind, he affords little entertainment for the inveterate *Quellen-forscher*. He soon broke the bonds of convention that held his father and Pacheco, and whatever he learned, whether from Roman sculptors or from Martínez Montañés, from Correggio, the great Venetian painters, or his own contemporaries, he made unmistakably his own. The *Ecce Homo* of Getafe (pl. 39), derived from Titian, is one of the few examples of readily apparent indebtedness; and in this case the patrons may have insisted upon the borrowing, for the model had long since fixed the type. It was certainly followed by the Valencian Juan de Joanes as early as the third quarter of the sixteenth century (cf. Prado 848); hence I would stress the author's reference to the error of "historians who thought that Murillo established this particular composition in the Spanish school." Discussion of what the younger painter in his turn may have owed to Cano is left to him who will tell Murillo's story.

Dr. Wethey shows that the affinity of Cano and Zurbarán is hardly great, though the *San Francisco de Borja* (pl. 36) had been reasonably attributed to the latter before Cano's dated signature proved that it must have been made without the influence of his Extremenian contemporary. One cannot resist the remark that Cano's *St. Agnes* (pl. 43), now deplorably lost, would have had every advantage over Zurbarán's *St. Lucy* of our National Gallery. Again Cano's painting of *St. Dominic's Miraculous Portrait at Soriano* (pl. 79), executed more than twenty years after Zurbarán's splendid rendering of the same theme (1626-1627), shows complete independence and exemplifies the difference of the two masters. More demonstrable is the parallel development of Velasquez and Cano and more explicable the *velazqueño* technique of the *Miracle of the Well* (pl. 75). The influence of Ribera appears almost negligible. I suspect, however, that the lost painting which came to be called *La Chancifana*, now known only through Niño de Guevara's copy (*Anales . . . de la Real Academia . . . de San Fernando*, II, fig. 3) may, if it comes to light, prove to be an instance of Cano's debt to Ribera. The magnificent *Trinity* that the Valencian artist painted in the 1630's and exported to the court of Spain must have won acclaim and established a pattern. In any event Niño de Guevara, though making some not very happy modification, followed the type of Lo Spagnoletto rather than that of El Greco.

Cano's achievement is now revealed, but his personality is even the more elusive as we set in order the facts of his life. Early trained in his father's art and prospective heir to that successful sculptor's atelier, he attached himself to Pacheco, did not, it seems, stay the course, but nevertheless rose to high rank among the painters of his age. Marrying advantageously, widowed, then contracting a second marriage, this *de convenience*, with a partner more fit to be ward than wife; childless apparently, but revering parenthood, observant of the engaging ways of infancy, and thus creating some of the loveliest babies ever made by brush or chisel; establishing home and clientèle but ever willing to be uprooted, he leaves an inconsistent picture of his domestic life. Fully employed and able to refuse commissions that paid too little; behoven to a friend who rescued him from a debtors' prison but immediately thereafter regarded as worthy to act as bondsman for a colleague; once again in funds and prepared to buy the prints of a deceased artist; charged with crime and acquitted but not free from the suspicions of the invidious; ordained priest of the Church but engaging in litigation against the clergy; winning his suit but dying destitute; instructing his heir to liquidate his debts by the sale of professional requisites that he had left in the least permanent of his many residences more than twenty years before, he shows an instability that accords with the common idea of the artistic temperament but was truly as rare among the Spanish artists of his day as was his mastery of varied skills. Still there is no evidence that he lived aimlessly or intemperately. Rather I fancy him too absorbed in work to dun his

debtors as his colleagues had often to do or to anticipate a tragedy that a more vigilant husband might have averted. If there was an even tenor of his way, it was maintained by his devotion to his art.

In spite of adversity he came to be regarded by Díez del Valle as surpassing all other painters of his day. And perhaps the old historian was not very far from the truth. In accord with him would have been many an Italian connoisseur, prizing the gentle and exquisite in Cano's work, disparaging the realism of his rivals. Compared with Ribera, Zurbarán, and Velasquez, Cano was hardly a realist except in sculpture. But even Italian taste granted the liberty of moderate realism to the sculptor while denying it to the painter. The reason may be discovered in the diverse origins of the two arts as they came to be developed in Italy, painting being derived from the Byzantine and sculpture being influenced by what had survived from the Greco-Roman world. Verrocchio, who was like Cano a versatile artist, preserved the traditional distinction. Cano, also recognizing it, would therefore have been chosen by the Italian connoisseur for the highest place.

That which, to our present mind, denies him such honor is his comparatively limited range of theme. He did not paint landscape for its own sake or attempt many settings requiring detailed knowledge of perspective. But these are the painter's specialties most likely to be slighted by one whose initial training was in sculpture. To be sure, he left us no still life, no revival of classic legend, no stirring scene of martyrdom, no assembly of cowled monks, no equestrian portrait, no little princess with or without her maids of honor. But which of the painters of these cherished things could have carved the *Madonna of Lebrija* or designed the façade of a cathedral?

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DIEGO ANGULO IÑIGUEZ, ENRIQUE MARCO DORTA, and MARIO J. BUSCHIAZZO, *Historia del arte hispanoamericano*, III, Barcelona, Salvat 1956. Pp. 848, 778 figs. \$18.75.

The latest volume of this comprehensive work on the art of Latin America is devoted mainly to the eighteenth century with the exception of Mexico, which appeared in Volume II. A vast undertaking, it has become, even more than at the beginning, a work of collaboration. Diego Angulo, the director of the project and professor at the University of Madrid, has contributed the first three chapters, on Central America, Cuba, and Santo Domingo, while Enrique Marco Dorta, professor at the University of Seville, prepared nine chapters on the northern and western parts of South America. The last section of the book, concerned with Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, and Brazil, was written by Professor Mario J. Buschiazzo of the University of Buenos Aires.

The study begins with Central America and then moves southward along the Pacific coast. Guatemala

is by all odds the most important country of this region, architecturally speaking, during the eighteenth century. The succession of devastating earthquakes in 1717, 1751, and 1773 led to the abandonment of great Baroque establishments at Antigua and to the construction of the new capital at Guatemala City. Antigua remains today the most extensive site of picturesque ruins in Latin America, somewhat rehabilitated in the twentieth century. The enormously thick walls, low towers, and the general massiveness of construction give this architecture a distinctive character which has been aptly named earthquake Baroque.¹ The elements of Baroque style are largely decorative and are concentrated in typically Hispanic fashion upon portals. One of the striking features of this region is the use of "cushion pilasters" (*pilastras almohadilladas*), that is, a deeply grooved pilaster broken horizontally into a series of round or rectangular blocks. One of the finest portals in which this element plays an important part is that of the Colegio Tridentino in Antigua, but it is also strikingly managed in numerous churches such as San José el Antiguo and Santa Rosa in Antigua and in the cathedral of Tegucigalpa (Honduras). There is little doubt that the *pilastra almohadillada* originated in Andalusia, but it enjoyed an extensive and highly original evolution in Central America.

The mixtilinear arch, another Spanish feature, also had its own and widespread development in Latin America. An exceptionally handsome example of its use appears in the patio of the University of Antigua (1763), and it occurs again and again, sometimes with rather fantastic effect in the nave arcade of a church, such as that at Quezaltepeque.

The tenacity of the *mudéjar* tradition throughout the eighteenth century is a never-ending source of surprise to students of Hispanic architecture. This resurgence after its original transplantation to the New World in the sixteenth century is often called *neomudéjar*, although there is some doubt whether the *mudéjar* ever died out, for it represents a continuing tradition in Latin America. The *mudéjar* wooden ceilings of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores at Tegucigalpa or those of the churches of El Salvador, such as the one at Panchimalco, continue the technique and decorative methods of Andalusian churches built from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries. In the first hundred years of Spanish domination these ceilings occur widely in both domestic and ecclesiastical architecture from Mexico City to Lima and Potosí. In the poor hinterland of El Salvador the most interesting aspect of the highly provincial architecture is the preservation of the building methods of the Moors of mediaeval Spain in the humble wooden edifices of post-and-lintel construction with their *zapata* capitals.

Cuba and Santo Domingo, on the other hand, were leading cultural centers, although the latter fell back after a great period of architectural ascendancy in the sixteenth century. Despite extensive modernization,

Cuba still holds much of interest, and like other tropical countries with a plentiful supply of wood, the *mudéjar* traditions flourished here.² The cathedral of Havana is perhaps the chief ecclesiastical monument, having been begun by the Jesuits, but taken over by the bishopric on the occasion of their expulsion in 1767, and finished as the cathedral five years later. Here the façade in its convexity and effects of movement belongs to a group of monuments like the cathedrals of Guadix and Murcia in Spain, which are the exception rather than the rule in Hispanic countries.

Splendid examples of domestic architecture still survive in Cuba, and notable for dignity and good scale are the Casa de Correos and Casa de Gobierno in Havana, even if not on the vast scale of the Palacio de los Capitanes Generales and the Town Hall (1739-1743) of Antigua in Guatemala. Professor Angulo has treated the manifold styles encountered in Central America with great skill and insight, never allowing the numerous details to obscure the broader aspects of stylistic currents.

As we turn to the south, Panama and Venezuela offer scant interest compared with the fabulous riches in architecture and sculpture which abound on every hand in the Andean countries of Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia. Colombia, which has so much to offer in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, declines somewhat in the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, at Popayán the gold and silver mines provided great material prosperity so that after the damages of the earthquake of 1736 quick reconstruction was possible. The main portal of Santo Domingo seems to be a Baroque reconstruction of a plateresque monument rather than a case of deliberate archaism in the lower part of it. Surpassing others in its scale and stone masonry is the new church of San Francisco (1775-1787), but the general scheme of its façade curiously resembles an early Baroque monument to which a later silhouette has been added. Although buildings and altars of the late Baroque style are scattered here and there throughout the land, it is in Tunja that the most typical products of the period abound, in the spiral-columned altars of the Capilla del Rosario (1686-1689) and in the church of Santa Bárbara. Marco Dorta has already studied much of this material earlier, in volume II of the present publication.³

Ecuador, one of the chief sites of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries continued its artistic production unabated until the very end of the colonial period. Though undated, the charming portal of spiral columns of the Carmelite church at Cuenca seems to belong to the first half of the eighteenth century, and it shows a striking similarity to an earlier Spanish monument, the portal of San Andrés at Valencia (1684-1686). Completely new structures abound in Quito, for example, the Carmen Moderno, the Recoleta de Tejar, San Juan de Dios and La Merced, the last mentioned almost a copy of La Compañía, reproducing the overlay

1. Pál Kelemen, *Baroque and Rococo in Latin America*, New York, 1951.

2. See the remarkable houses in Santiago de Cuba: Prat

Puig, *El prebarroco en Cuba*, Havana, 1947.

3. *Historia del arte hispanoamericano*, II, 1950, pp. 94-98.

of the vaults and interior with stuccoes which combine *mudéjar* and Baroque elements. Hardly less significant is the refurbishing of sixteenth century churches after the destructive earthquake of 1755. Then the ceiling of the nave of San Francisco and the walls received their extraordinarily lavish gilded stuccoes, and the redecoration of the Renaissance cathedral was only slightly less extensive. Professor Marco Dorta is right, however, in signifying the façade of La Compañía as the masterpiece of Ecuadorian architecture of this period. He gives an extensive analysis of the design, which belongs to two distinct campaigns, the spiral columns (*salomónicas*) and central section having been designed and built by a German Jesuit, Leonard Deubler, in 1722-1725, and the rest of the façade having been carried out by an Italian Jesuit, Gandolfi, in 1760-1765. It is impossible to agree with José Gabriel Navarro, who holds that the whole design is due to Deubler, since there is such an obvious change in plan in the later sections. Professor Marco Dorta wisely refrains from discussing the Ecuadorian writer's most recent and most extravagant claims for Ecuadorian supremacy in architectural matters.⁴

Quito continued to be one of the chief centers of both figure and decorative sculpture in the eighteenth century. The material is so abundant and documentation so scanty that only a thorough monograph in this field could do much to clarify its historical development.⁵ Shortly prior to 1650 came the redecoration of the sanctuary of San Francisco at Quito with a profusion of early Baroque architectural ornament. The subsequent shift to the spiral column (*salomónica*) seems to have been later than in Peru, where the documented altar of Santa Teresa at Cuzco provides a definitely established date (1664), quite possibly for its introduction there. It seems to me that the retable with *salomónicas* must have begun its development at Quito by the last quarter of the seventeenth century, for that center could hardly have been very far behind the other important centers of Latin America. In altars and pulpits the spiral column continued to predominate until about 1750, according to Marco Dorta, and the tapering pilaster (*estípite*) is notable for its absence, just as in Peru. Striking are the transept altars of La Compañía at Quito, with their giant spiral columns and the clear cut inspiration of Andrea Pozzo's altars in the Gesù at Rome. Such relationships in Latin America are frequent, and it is well known that travel and communications between Rome and the various Jesuit houses were constant up to the moment of the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spanish lands in 1767.

4. José Gabriel Navarro, "Contribuciones a la historia del arte en el Ecuador," *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de Historia*, Quito, 1951, pp. 158-233.

5. J. G. Navarro's *La escultura en el Ecuador*, Madrid, 1929, the first study in this field, contains some data but without historical or stylistic organization.

6. Harold E. Wethey, *Colonial Architecture and Sculpture in Peru*, Cambridge, 1949.

7. Jorge Cornejo Bouroncle, "Arte cuzqueño," *Revista del Archivo Histórico del Cuzco*, no. 2, 1951, pp. 270-297; no. 3,

A number of highly fanciful types characterize the altars of the Quito school. Such a work as the retable of Santa Marta in San Francisco with its curious banded columns, somewhat related to the cushion column (*almohadillada*), is a case in point, for which there is as yet no definitely established date in the eighteenth century. The numerous fine pulpits, some of which are dated, would help to establish workshops and chronology. Extraordinarily handsome too are the tribunes and lavishly carved screens, the most celebrated of which is the *mámpara* (1747) in the church of the Sagrario.

In the case of Peruvian sculpture, documents and inscriptions were known in sufficient quantity to establish the chronology of the schools of Cuzco and Lima and Trujillo in my book, published a few years ago.⁶ Marco Dorta agrees consistently with these conclusions, although his discussion in a general book like the present volume is naturally briefer. The recent publication of documents of the notarial archives of Cuzco by Dr. Jorge Cornejo Bouroncle has added new and valuable data, particularly with regard to the names of sculptors and architects of the Cuzco school.⁷ It is now possible to reconstruct the career of Martín de Torres, as architect of the portal (1651) of La Merced, of the choir stalls of San Agustín (1664), now in Santa Clara, and of many retablos including the lateral altars (1633) of Santa Catalina, the altar of the Trinity (1655) in the cathedral, and numerous works, most of which are lost.

The long delay in finishing the high altar (1657-1674) of Santa Catalina in Cuzco would explain the introduction of small undecorated spiral columns in the niches of the upper story, in a design which otherwise corresponds to the time at which the altar was begun. Although it may well have appeared slightly earlier, the first documented use of the spiral column in Peru occurs, as already noted, in the high altar and pulpit of Santa Teresa of Cuzco in 1664.⁸ The sculptor, Diego Martínez de Oviedo, who was already known to be the author of these and other works, emerges now, however, as the leading artist of the second half of the seventeenth century in that Andean city. He was most probably the architect of the high altar of La Compañía as well as of the façade of the church.⁹ He is almost certainly author of the pulpits in La Merced, Santa Catalina, and San Antonio Abad, as well as of the documented examples in Santa Teresa and La Compañía. It still remains a mystery as to where this extraordinarily brilliant and advanced master of Baroque design learned his trade. He was the son of Sebastián Martínez, an architect of Cuzco, and his

1952, pp. 66-140; no. 4, 1953, pp. 174-210.

8. *ibid.*, no. 3, 1952, pp. 97-98. The date, 1675, given for these works in my book (*op.cit.*, pp. 200, 217) is an error. The original document, then inaccessible and unpublished, was known to me only through notes kindly lent by a Peruvian scholar.

9. In *Colonial Architecture and Sculpture in Peru*, p. 219, I pointed out the close stylistic relationship of the Jesuit altar to the documented retablos of Diego Martínez de Oviedo in Santa Teresa and San Sebastián.

wife Juana de Oviedo, and hence a native *cuzqueño*. That the new late Baroque elements of his style, such as the richly carved spiral column, were of Spanish origin, no one can doubt. His art is in no way retarded in comparison with peninsular standards. He may have learned from a Spanish master in Lima whose name we cannot conjecture, but there is no known architect in the capital whose style was as advanced as his.¹⁰ Perhaps even a trip to the mother country may not be altogether too fanciful an explanation of the brilliant development in the career of Diego Martínez de Oviedo.

The *cuzqueño* master who has been a great favorite with Peruvian writers was the Indian Juan Tomás Tuyru Tupac. The new documents reveal his activities as a gilder of altars and as sculptor of twenty-six figures for the high altar of Santa Ana (1679). Very recently Padre Vargas Ugarte called attention to a clause in the will of Bishop Manuel de Mollinedo that makes him the sculptor of the handsome altar of Nuestra Señora la Antigua in Cuzco Cathedral.¹¹ Professor Marco Dorta is absolutely right, however, in insisting that the famous pulpit of San Blas cannot be attributed to the Indian sculptor. A local romantic tradition favors his authorship, for which there is, however, no reasonable basis.

The paradox in chronology which dated the high altar of Santa Teresa in Ayacucho in 1703 and the transept retables of the cathedral in 1764, although the style of all three is similar, has been clarified by further archival research. Padre Rubén Vargas Ugarte has discovered that the altar of Santo Cristo in the cathedral was ordered much earlier than 1764 and had been completed through the first story in 1742, and that the pendant altar of the Immaculate Conception was begun about 1728.¹² Hence Bishop Román y Carrillo, whose inscriptions say that he donated both of them in 1764, was claiming somewhat more than his share, since he probably only completed these two altars at that time.

In spite of the abundance of material, large numbers of altars, particularly in Bolivia, have not been studied, as Professor Marco Dorta rightly points out. The field of research still offers much in the way of exploration. The lost high altar of Sucre Cathedral, known in the drawing and original contract, which I discovered in the archives of the cathedral, prove the high quality of much of the early lost work. Such an extraordinarily fascinating and original primitive work as the high altar of San Francisco at Cochabamba is an example

of which there must be others in remote Andean village churches.¹³

Peru was unquestionably the greatest center of colonial culture in Hispanic South America, just as Mexico stood out predominantly in the north. Consequently a considerable portion of volume III of the *Historia del arte hispanoamericano* is devoted to the sculpture and architecture of that viceroyalty. Marco Dorta has treated the architecture with admirable thoroughness, devoting his attention first to the school of Lima, which dominated the whole coastal region. Baroque curvilinear floor plans are rare in Spanish America, the only examples in the viceroyalty of Peru being that of the Huérfanos and the cloister of Santa Tomás in Lima and the original scheme for Santa Teresa at Cochabamba. The extraordinary polylobed ground plan of the latter has recently been reconstructed by José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert.¹⁴ Three lobes to each side were joined by the curving apse, but the vault fell in 1790, and they decided to abandon this highly original idea for a conventional rectangular structure, which was obviously much easier to build.

In Lima a number of churches of nuns with their façades flanked by small towers belong to the early eighteenth century. This type of structure is repeated up and down the coast as in the churches of Trujillo and La Compañía at Pisco. Of considerable significance at Lima is the first use of the spiral column in a retable-like design on the façade of La Merced (1697-1704), to be followed by the handsome façade of San Agustín (1720). From there the style spread to the mountainous regions of Lake Titicaca and to Potosí in Bolivia.

The most original and truly native works of the eighteenth century appear in the remote highlands of Peru and Bolivia, where the population was then and still remains predominantly Indian. Because of the natural primitivism of the carving of these Indianized Baroque façades, many writers have termed this art the *mestizo* style.¹⁵ Professor Marco Dorta, however, prefers to call it "arte andino," although he admits the native character of the art and does full justice to local contributions to the ornamental repertory, drawn from the flora and fauna of South America. He recognizes the survivals of pre-Columbian elements and accepts the present reviewer's earlier suggestion that the tropical motives, which are such striking features in the decorative repertory at Pomata, Juli, and elsewhere, may have been spread by *mestizo* textiles, in which they so strikingly occur, just as manuscripts

10. Padre Rubén Vargas Ugarte (*Ensayo de un diccionario, Apéndice*, Buenos Aires, 1955, p. 42) makes reference to Diego Martínez as active in Santo Domingo at Lima, but there must be a typographical error in the date 1616.

11. *ibid.*, p. 52. Illustrated and dated in the last decade of the seventeenth century in Wethay, *op.cit.*, p. 220, fig. 66.

12. Vargas Ugarte, "La catedral de Huamanga," *Mar del Sur*, IV, 1950, p. 20.

13. Wethay, "Retablos coloniales en Bolivia," *Anales del Instituto de Arte Americano*, Buenos Aires, III, 1950, pp. 7-13. This is the only study of the subject yet made.

14. Mesa and Gisbert, "La iglesia de las Carmelitas de

Cochabamba," *Anales del Instituto de Arte Americano*, VII, 1954, pp. 7-11.

15. Angel Guido, *Fusión hispano-indígena en la arquitectura colonial*, Buenos Aires, 1925; Alfred Neumeyer, "Indian Contribution to Architectural Decoration in Spanish Colonial America," *ART BULLETIN*, XXX, 1948, pp. 104-121; H. E. Wethay, *Colonial Architecture and Sculpture in Peru*, chapters VIII-IX; H. E. Wethay, "Mestizo Architecture in Bolivia," *Art Quarterly*, XIV, 1951, pp. 283-306; Martín Noel, *La arquitectura mestiza en las riberas del lago Titicaca*, Documentos de arte colonial sudamericano, Buenos Aires, 1952.

served to spread ornamental ideas in the Middle Ages. Here I should like to say that Marco Dorta is generous in acknowledging the contributions of other investigators in the same field, an attitude which unfortunately does not characterize the writings of all scholars.

Professor Mario Buschiazza has long been known for his books and articles on the colonial art of Argentina. He was therefore the happiest possible choice to prepare the chapters on the architecture of his country and the neighboring regions of Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay. Relatively undeveloped in the early days of the colonies, Argentina came into its own in the eighteenth century. Then European Jesuits established essentially non-Hispanic styles there in major ecclesiastical edifices. San Ignacio in Buenos Aires (1712-1734), by the German Jesuits Krauss and Wolff, is an isolated and curious monument so far as its strangely voluted façade is concerned. The true founders of the Argentine school of the eighteenth century were the Italian Jesuits, Prímoli and Blanqui, who introduced an Italian classicism in the sober monumentality of their architectural style. The complex interrelation of these two architects, who worked both together and separately, is told with splendid clarity by Professor Buschiazza. The principal churches of Buenos Aires are theirs in varying degrees: El Pilar, San Francisco, San Telmo, and Las Catalinas. Their masterpieces, however, are the Jesuit estates of Alta Gracia and Jesús María near Córdoba, and the style of the handsome one at Santa Catalina is theirs, although the architect is now shown to be Antonio Harls, a Bavarian Jesuit.

In the city and province of Córdoba lie many of the finest monuments of colonial Argentina, charming mountain chapels like Candonga and fine examples of domestic building. These latter belong to the general stream of Hispanic culture. The single storied house with patio or series of patios prevails most commonly throughout Latin America. Windows protected with grills of iron or wood and the double doorway in the angle of a city house are familiar features in Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay as well as elsewhere. The *mudéjar* balcony in the second story, so typical of Lima and Cuzco, does appear occasionally in Santiago de Chile, along with other Peruvian influences.

The architecture of Paraguay is for the most part poor and provincial today. It consists of large churches of wood supported by simple posts and covered with pitched roofs. Fabulous to be sure are the stone ruins of the gigantic Jesuit missions, some of which now lie within the borders of Argentina, others in Paraguay, and still others in Brazil. In spite of the researches of Professor Buschiazza, Busaniche, and Juan Giuria¹⁶ much remains to be done by investigations of the monuments themselves, most of which lie in nearly inaccessible tropical regions.

The last two chapters bring the present volume of the *Historia del arte hispanoamericano* to a fitting cli-

max with a study of the brilliant and luxuriant art of Brazil in the eighteenth century. Turning from Hispanic countries, one is struck by the complete change of artistic climate, for everything is Portuguese here and so very different. The great number of churches of curvilinear plan provides the greatest contrast to the Spanish tradition in ground plans. Completely Portuguese in origin too are the churches of rectangular shape with lateral passages and retro-sacristies. Most of the author's attention is given to the extraordinarily rich city of Bahía, to certain primary monuments such as Nossa Senhora do Carmo, São Benito, and São Francisco in Rio de Janeiro, and to the wealthy mining region of Minas Geraes. The name of Dr. Robert C. Smith, who has contributed so much to our knowledge of this field, appears very prominently in the bibliography.

Professors Angulo Iñiguez, Marco Dorta, and Buschiazza are to be congratulated on having completed this highly important volume of a scope so vast, involving scholarly dedication of heroic proportions. The only major criticism which can be made of this volume, as well as of the preceding two, is the lack of an index. The hundreds of monuments and the almost countless names of architects, builders, sculptors, and painters are in part lost to the scholar without an index, in spite of the excellent table of contents with which each volume is equipped. It is to be hoped that the publisher will face the problem squarely, for the responsibility is largely his, and that he will provide a cumulative index for the entire work, when the final volume of this monumental history goes to press.

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JAMES S. ACKERMAN, *The Cortile del Belvedere* (Studi e documenti per la storia del Palazzo apostolico Vaticano, Volume III), Vatican City, 1954. Pp. 259; 47 pls.

One day early in the sixteenth century, a visitor to Rome and his guide made their way through the maze of ruins then covering the Palatine. As they moved from one area of the hill to another, the guide read pertinent passages from the first book to discuss the topography of ancient Rome: the *Roma instaurata* of Flavio Biondo. With its help they were able to form an impression of the former splendor of the buildings. Gradually the fallen capitals, the still standing masonry cores of vaulted rooms, and the broken shafts of fluted columns fused into a mental image of the palace of the Caesars as it had once appeared. At last, their visit completed, the two men turned from the ruins of the Imperial palaces to look across the city. To their left, up the river, on the distant Mons Vaticanus rose the new walls of the papal palace: a sight which inspired the guide to remark: "What Biondo has written about

16. Juan Giuria, *La arquitectura en el Paraguay*, Buenos Aires, 1950; Hernán Busaniche, *La arquitectura en las misiones jesuíticas guaraníes*, Santa Fe (Argentina), 1955.

the Imperial palaces, now could we say the same about the Papal palace."¹

Now, some four hundred years later, the papal palace of the sixteenth century must be reconstructed, and the *Cortile del Belvedere* of James Ackerman is the indispensable guide for those seeking an impression of the former splendor of the Renaissance palace from the present day building. By providing a reconstruction of the initial plan by Bramante and a history of its subsequent development, this book makes more understandable the opinion of a sixteenth century guidebook writer like Marliani, who evidently considered the papal palace to be in some way a reconstruction of the Imperial palace. From the information found in this book, the historian may for the first time receive a reliable idea of the concept held by Bramante for the palace of Julius II, one of the most grandiose building projects to have been undertaken in Rome since the time of the Emperors.

The fact that this task should only now be undertaken does not indicate a lack of appreciation for the sixteenth century palace on the part of past historians. If up to now no single, comprehensive work has been devoted to the history of this building, it is because previous historians were held off from the task partly by the mistaken belief that a close relationship existed between the present building and the original plan, and partly by the formidable complexity of the history of the actual construction. In those few instances when the palace, and in particular the Cortile, was the subject of research, attention was focused on only a part of the entire project. It is very much to the credit of the present author to have perceived that an understanding of the original project could only be achieved by treating the entire history of the building.

The result is a successful one. Out of the welter of contracts, descriptions, and drawings the author has produced a lucid accounting of the building as planned by Bramante and as slowly brought to completion throughout most of the sixteenth century. In part, the author has succeeded because he has given to the formerly confused material a clear and logical organization, an organization for which every user of the book will be grateful. Also, the author presents his thesis with an admirable economy, an achievement clearly the result of the long and careful thought he has given to the many problems attaching to the history of this building. Any temptation to include material pertinent but not essential to the history of the project is avoided by the author, thus enabling the reader to better grasp the entire sequence of events and to comprehend their significance for the history of Cinquecento architecture.

A brief introduction suffices for the author to start his work. Here he sketches the history of the papal palace prior to the time of Julius II and Bramante,

points out the importance of the Belvedere for the development of Roman Renaissance architecture, and explains why a consideration of this building must proceed by first reconstituting the project originally conceived by Bramante. The reconstitution of this project is then presented in detail. Each part of the project is discussed separately, the author taking pains to provide in each instance a list of the drawings on which the reconstruction of the particular part has been based. An excellent isometric drawing of the entire Cortile, along with a more detailed view of the exedra, help the reader to form a visual image of the complex planned by Bramante. The next major section of the book is concerned with the history of the construction of the building. The work accomplished under each pontiff is discussed separately, and a summary of the accomplishments is provided at the end of each chapter. Detailed consideration of the work is brought to a close with the 1585 decision of Sixtus V to erect the library wing across the Cortile, a decision which marks the end of the Belvedere as originally conceived. The succeeding section of the book is devoted to an analysis of the original project in terms of style, sources, iconology, and influence. Finally, the reader is provided with a selection of pertinent descriptions of the building, reproductions of the existing documents, and a chronologically arranged catalogue of all the drawings and other visual records of the building consulted by the author. Here the author states his views as to date, authorship, and significance of the visual documents, as well as providing a bibliography for each document. This catalogue alone should draw praise from the student of Renaissance architecture, for the material collected here permits the relative importance of each document to be established more clearly than the previously isolated treatment and use of these documents had made possible. Also, the catalogue enables the reader to evaluate the use made by the author of the visual documents.

By presenting his material in this fashion, the author has been able to clarify some of the most complicated periods in the history of the building. The period 1550-1565, for example, is one where the author's careful analysis of all the available visual documents and his concern for the evidence of other documentary material has had particularly fruitful results. For the first time the work of Michelangelo at the Belvedere has been wholly disentangled from that of Ligorio, and a convincing account given of how the various additions to the plan by Bramante came into existence, of the reasons for their existence, and of the significance such changes had for future work. After reading this section of the book it is difficult to remember that in the not too distant past the entire work at the Belvedere up to 1565 was considered as simply accomplishing an ideal set by Bramante, while the

close of his account of the Palatine, an account in which he has quoted liberally from Biondo. An invitation to imagine such a scene is extended by the somewhat informal character of the sixteenth century guidebooks themselves.

1. "Sed quod scribit Blon. de Palatio Maiori, id quoque de Palatio Vaticano nūc dicere possemus." The above paragraph is an attempt to place in its proper setting this very revealing aside made by J. B. Marliani (*Antiquae Romae topographia libri septem*, Rome, 1534, Book III, Ch. 7, fol. 49_v) at the

best representations of his original plan were believed to be shown in the engravings of the "Giostra" of 1565 or in the drawing Uffizi 1713.² Although the work of previous scholars had pointed out the necessity for discarding this theory, it remained for the present author to reconcile the apparently conflicting pieces of evidence and so present a history composed of a rational sequence of events.

The organization of the diverse pieces of evidence, then, and the substitution of a logical series of events for the previously muddled history of the Belvedere are at once the great strength of the book and at the same time a possible weakness. Occasionally, I believe, the author has succeeded so well in bringing order to his material that the reader is apt to overlook or to be unaware of problems which still exist in the history of the building. This is not to say that the author presents conclusions with an air of finality when the evidence does not warrant such an attitude; he is most careful in this respect. However, in satisfying an understandable desire to clarify, the author has tended to exclude too rigorously from his account any consideration of other possible interpretations of documents or events. In doing so he unwittingly helps to foster an impression that a complete history of the palace in capsule form may be derived from the chapter summaries. For this reason it might be well to single out a few instances where problems still exist, the solution of which might affect the history and interpretation of the palace as presented by the author.

It is the early history of the palace that remains most uncertain and confusing. It remains so because there are few written documents and little precise information within the contemporary descriptions of the building. It must have been a keen disappointment for the author not to have discovered any contracts or building accounts which would have provided a firm basis for the history of these earlier years. For the period 1505 to 1519 there remain twenty-six written documents, nine of which relate to the Torre Borgia; but only one (Doc. 25) of the total number gives any clear indication of the progress made in erecting the Cortile. From the years 1519-1534 there are no written documents of consequence, only a series of payments (Docs. 27-30) vaguely described as being for work done at the Belvedere. Although the contemporary descriptions are rich in details concerning the statue court, only one, the 1523 report of the Venetian ambassador, sheds any light on the state of the rest of the Cortile. Thus, with the important exceptions of the Torre Borgia and the statue court, a reconstruction of the Bramante project and a history of approximately its first thirty years in construction must depend primarily on the existing visual documents.

How unfortunate a condition this absence of other documentation becomes painfully evident when one tries to work with such visual documents as remain.

2. So, too, the author has pinned down this drawing which has masqueraded as Bramante for too long. As the author points out, its function as a preparatory study for the 1565 engraving is self-evident and it may be safely given to Etienne

There exist no drawings for this period which can be securely dated or which present scholars accept as being by Bramante. Indeed, the drawings are for the most part anonymous and give conflicting testimony. Given this situation, the author of the present book has handled the material in a way that truly commands respect for his analytical skill and invites appreciation for the order given to the visual documents. Nevertheless, this reviewer, although benefiting greatly from the author's labor, finds some cause for concern over the degree of rigidity the author was required to introduce to achieve this order. Specifically, this concern arises from the author's acceptance of the Coner sketchbook as containing the earliest and most faithful copies of Bramante's plans or models and his use of these drawings as an absolute standard by which the other visual documents may be dated and their evidence evaluated. To this reviewer the character of the Coner drawings would not appear to support such precise definition nor to allow their use to be so rigorous. To employ the drawings in this fashion would appear to encourage the disregard of other material, whose inclusion and use as equally valid evidence would, it is true, complicate the situation, but which might also point the way to a new concept of the Bramante project.

The acceptance of the drawings in the Coner sketchbook as "Bramante at second or third hand" required that the author refute the proposal by Dagobert Frey that the Coner codex must be dated after 1535.³ Frey's argument derives from the fact that the Coner Belvedere plan provides for the location of an exterior stairwell along the intermediate courtyard, a stairwell whose function Frey believed to have been brought about by the collapse of a part of the eastern corridors in 1531. As this stairway was not built until 1535 Frey concludes that the Coner drawings must be posterior to this period. They would not, then, represent faithful copies of designs by Bramante. In opposition to this view, the author of the present book refutes successfully the linking by Frey of the function of the stairway to the accident of 1531, and therefore is free to argue that although the stairway was not built until 1535 this does not necessarily mean that this element was absent from the original plan. However, that this element was included in Bramante's design for the Belvedere cannot be proved without some satisfactory definition of the functioning of the stairway within the original plan. The author's suggestion that this stairwell "provided a means of passage between the two upper levels of the corridors, which could be had previously only at the extreme southern end of the Cortile" is not for this reviewer, a wholly satisfactory explanation, as the author does not take into account the relationship between it and the very long interior stairway which the Coner plan shows as occupying the entire length of the eastern corridor alongside the

Dupérac.

3. Dagobert Frey, *Michelangelo-studien*, Vienna, 1920, pp. 43-46.

intermediate court. A solution to this problem is necessarily complex, and perhaps ultimately impossible to attain, but unless this problem can be satisfactorily resolved other arguments must be brought to bear on the date suggested by either one of the two writers.

As additional support for assigning the Coner drawings to a period earlier than that proposed by Frey, the author stresses the character of both the material included in the sketchbook and that which does not appear. As the sketchbook includes no projects or plans which must be dated after 1515-1520, the author considers it unlikely that the Belvedere plan would be contemporary with the erection of the stairwell in 1535. Had an architect of the mid 1530's prepared this sketchbook, the author argues, one would expect to find some evidence of buildings or excavations for the period 1520-1535. Indeed, the author continues, the inclusion of such buildings as the Cancelleria, Palazzo Giraud, S. Biagio, and the early St. Peter's projects points to an architect of the period ten years after Bramante's death as the author of the Coner sketchbook; for only at this time would these buildings have created a lively interest, an interest that "even then would have been uncommonly conservative." And, the author concludes, the hand and the style are as old-fashioned as the subject matter.

All of these arguments appear to me to be reasonable positions but not finally convincing ones. They depend upon assumptions not easily defended in view of other arguments based on the same material. For example, the date when architects lost interest in the early work of Bramante is not easily defined. The anonymous French architect responsible for Munich Codex 195, whose work dates from the period 1535-1541, was sufficiently attracted to such an old-fashioned building as the Cancelleria to make detailed drawings of it along with the very new Palazzo Farnese. Whether or not other buildings from this early period were studied by this architect we cannot say, as his sketchbook apparently was broken up at a later date and its contents scattered.⁴ Such a fate is unfortunately the common one for material of this kind, and this condition makes it difficult to speak securely about the contents of most early sixteenth century architectural sketchbooks. The Coner sketchbook is no exception to this condition. It too was broken up at some later date. And although the fact that its drawings were mounted and rebound as a single volume preserved intact the larger portion of its contents, a rough calculation based on breaks in pagination indicates that more than one-fifth of the original book is now missing. Unless some means exist of accounting for the missing portions of the Coner sketchbook, the author's arguments based on the material included or

excluded by the architect do not have the force one would wish.

A consideration of the missing portions of the Coner sketchbook would, I believe, have led the author to a more precise definition of the book as a whole and so have rewarded him with additional support for his statements concerning the content of the book. For this reason it might not be out of place here to indicate the results of an investigation which takes into account the fact that parts of the sketchbook are missing.

The Coner sketchbook in its present form is a parchment bound volume containing 104 folios of mounted drawings. The drawings are on paper of uniform size with a single watermark.⁵ Double size drawings bear marks of a center fold and binding thread holes. In the upper right-hand corner of the drawings occurs a number which, as it does not accord with that found on the mounts, represents a previous pagination. The mounts are so assembled that the drawings present two series of consecutive numberings: a first series running from 1-99; a second going from 6-34. Both series as represented in the present volume are incomplete. Twenty-one numbers are missing within the first sequence and six from the second.⁶ The physical aspects of the book indicate, then, that the drawings were removed from a sketchbook whose folios were numbered from 1-100, followed by another numbering from one to at least 34.⁷ Accordingly, a minimum of twenty folios within the first series was not included when the drawings were bound together and twelve plus folios of the second series omitted.

In addition to the information derived from the physical make-up of the book, two factors concerning the drawings themselves are pertinent here. One is the fact, first observed by Ashby, that the drawings are carefully arranged by subject matter: one section devoted primarily to groundplans, one to elevations, another to Doric entablatures, etc. The second observation to be made regards the presence of more than one hand. Two are clearly identifiable: an early one that is responsible for the majority of the drawings and the late, easily recognized hand of a copyist who worked during the middle of the seventeenth century for Cassiano dal Pozzo. There also exist other drawings scattered through the book which are so markedly less competent and so different in character from the early hand that their presence can only indicate the work of still other draughtsmen. The very weak drawings on folio 75r-v are cases in point.

If we examine the sketchbook then, noting the position of the missing pages and the drawings of the copyist it becomes evident that the later drawings occur in close relation to the missing pages or to folios still blank on one side. So too, drawings not belonging to

4. A view of the Belvedere is found at Windsor. The author dates it before 1535 (Cat. 16).

5. A physical description of the sketchbook is given by Thomas Ashby, "Sixteenth Century Drawings of Roman Buildings attributed to Andreas Coner," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, II, 1904; "Addenda and Corrigenda," *ibid.*, VI, 1913, pp. 184ff. He does not go into detail concerning

the missing pages.

6. Within the first sequence there also occurs an unnumbered title page, one unnumbered drawing, and one repeated number.

7. There also exists the possibility that there were originally two sketchbooks but this seems less probable.

either the early or the latest hand are found in close company with those by the seventeenth century copyist, with missing pages or with blank ones. Folio 75, for example, is preceded by one blank page, six missing pages, two questionable pages and is followed by a blank page, an obviously incomplete page, a questionable page, another blank page, and six pages used by the copyist. The pattern of the missing pages, blank pages, and later additions within the arrangement of the subject matter is sufficiently obvious to warrant the conclusion that all of these pages had been left blank by the original draughtsman. From this new evidence it would seem possible to draw some inferences concerning the history of the sketchbook and its original form.

The original draughtsman had planned an architectural sketchbook, or more properly a copy or model book, in which the material was to have a particular organization. He began to make copies of certain drawings, each of which found a definite place within the over-all plan. Blank pages were left in each of the sections to receive additional material. The draughtsman did not finish the work. The book passed through various hands, receiving a few new drawings and perhaps inscriptions in the process, and finally came into the possession of Cassiano dal Pozzo, whose copyist utilized a few more of the blank pages. At a slightly later date, either while still belonging to Cassiano or after his entire collection had passed in 1657 to his brother, Carlo Antonio, the sketchbook was disassembled and the drawings placed on mounts.⁸ During this operation the blank pages which remained in the book naturally were discarded. Sometime after the Dal Pozzo collection came into the possession of the Albani family, the mounted drawings were bound into the present volume. In 1762 the collection was purchased for King George III by James Adam who at the same time evidently acquired the Coner sketchbook for himself. In any case, the volume eventually appeared in the Adam sale of 1818 where it was purchased by Sir John Soane, in whose museum it is still preserved.

If, as seems probable, such was the history of the sketchbook what can be said of its original form? For our purposes here let it suffice to consider only the first series 1-100, leaving aside any consideration of those drawings which might be placed in the questionable class. In the first section of this series, devoted primarily to groundplans, fewer than half of the pages were utilized by the original draughtsman. Of the 58 pages preceding the point at which the section dealing with the elevations begins, 33 are today either blank, missing or filled in by the Dal Pozzo copyist.

8. For this and other details concerning the history of this collection see Cornelius C. Vermeule, "The Dal Pozzo-Albani Drawings of Classical Antiquities," *ART BULLETIN*, XXXVIII, 1956, p. 34. Also Ashby, *op.cit.* II, pp. 1f.; VI, pp. 184-189.

9. After the Belvedere plan on fol. 17r no drawing appears until fol. 24v, devoted to a St. Peter's project. This is followed by a sketch on fol. 25v, but then a gap again occurs until fol. 30.

10. Six missing pages precede the four pages of Belvedere

Interestingly enough, the major part left blank occurs immediately after the groundplan of the Belvedere itself.⁹ In other words, at the point where other drawings of the Belvedere might have been placed, blank pages were left by the draughtsman.

The second section, devoted to the elevations and views of monuments, also consists of 58 pages, but only 18 are blank, missing, or filled in by the later hand. Again, however, the point where the Belvedere drawings appear coincides with one of the major gaps in the book.¹⁰ Without going into detail, a similar investigation of the remaining sections within the first series reveals that roughly forty percent of the pages were left blank by the originator of the Coner sketchbook. And no doubt this figure would have to be raised to somewhere over one-half, if drawings of a questionable nature and pages left in an incomplete state by the draughtsman were taken into account.

As a result of this investigation the documentary value of the sketchbook would seem to be increased. The missing pages can now, with some degree of certainty, be assumed to have been blank. The original form of the book can now, with some expectation of being correct, be reconstituted. Although this reconstruction indicates that at the end of its earliest state the book remained incomplete, the contents actually included by the first draughtsman can now be spoken of more firmly. Whereas previously any argument dependent upon the character of the book's contents was weakened by the fact that a part of the book was missing, it would now seem that the missing pages actually provide a means to a more precise definition of the book and its draughtsman.

Although the reconstituted form of the sketchbook supports the argument made by the author concerning the character of the contents, it also makes more pertinent certain other observations which can be made about the drawings. Several characteristics of the drawings long have pointed to the Sangallo circle as the source for the sketchbook: the fact that all of the drawings use the Florentine braccio as the unit of measurement, the fact that a large number of the drawings after the antique derive from the sketchbook of Giuliano Sangallo, the fact that several drawings are after the work of Antonio Sangallo the younger. These suggestions of a Sangallo source for the sketchbook recently have been supplemented by the attribution of the handwriting in the sketchbook to Giovanni Battista da Sangallo (1496-1552).¹¹ In view of the fact that the handwriting occurs both on the drawings of the early hand and on those not so easily identified, this graphological evidence does not establish Giovanni

drawings and they in turn are followed by four pages of which two are blank and two devoted to the Coner letter and its accompanying illustration. The latter material is one of the glaring exceptions to the organization of the book's subject matter and might profitably be taken into account with respect to the role of Coner and the book's draughtsman.

11. Proposed by De Angelis d'Ossat in *Palladio*, N. S. 1, 1951, pp. 18-94; rejected by Ackerman, *ART BULLETIN*, XXXVIII, 1956, p. 55 n. 8.

as the original draughtsman, but it does identify him as a later owner of the book. This new linking of a Sangallo with the sketchbook, taken together with the other Sangallo elements in the book, would seem to leave little doubt that the sketchbook did indeed originate within the Sangallo group. An attempt to be more specific about this source must first take into account the important place accorded in the sketchbook to the work of Bramante, as well as recognizing the recently demonstrated fact that the type of perspective drawing used by the draughtsman is typical of the Bramante-Raphael school.¹² The presence of a Bramante influence within an otherwise purely Sangallo-inspired sketchbook obviously suggests a source close to Antonio Sangallo the younger. An architect with access to Antonio's workshop as the author of the sketchbook is a conclusion further encouraged by the observation that the drawings copied by the first draughtsman are very similar to those which we would expect to encounter in the possession of Antonio not long after his period of training under his two uncles and Bramante.

Despite the fact that it is now possible to attribute the sketchbook to a person in close contact with Antonio Sangallo and whose incomplete book became a part of the Sangallo drawing collection, no further definition of the first draughtsman is suggested by the reconstitution of the sketchbook. Nor is there forthcoming from this investigation any clarification of the date at which the anonymous architect began to make his copies. Apparently, therefore, the only test of the author's acceptance of the Coner drawings as copies of Bramante's original Belvedere project must be a comparison of these drawings with the other available visual documents, a comparison in which the Coner drawings can be allowed no *a priori* precedence. In brief, the Coner drawings must be allowed to seek their own level.

What would be the result if the author's use of the Coner drawings as a control mechanism for the other drawings of the Belvedere were abandoned? The answer given here to this question will be concerned with the groundplan and with the elevation of the eastern corridor of the lower courtyard. Only in these two cases are significant differences with the author's thesis indicated.

If the priority of the Coner drawings is removed, a stronger defense would seem to be needed of the author's description of the drawing Uffizi 287 as a "refinement" of the Coner plan. In fact, working under such an assumption has, I believe, put the author in the position of rejecting the obvious in favor of the less convincing. For example, the author points out that none of the work carried out by Antonio Sangallo the younger at the Vatican in the 1540's is represented on the Uffizi plan. Although this observation only suggests that the plan must predate the work, the author uses it as grounds for discarding an earlier attribution of the plan to Antonio Sangallo. Apparently

the author was willing to accept the implication of a pre-1540's date for the plan only when such an argument was not used in favor of an Antonio Sangallo attribution. Actually such a date finally is assigned to the drawing by the author, but only after he has attributed the drawing, on the basis of style, to Baldassare Peruzzi. By attributing it to Peruzzi, the author is forced, because of the chronology of Peruzzi's travels and internal evidence of the plan itself, to date the drawing sometime before 1527. This new attribution with its consequent date raises more problems than it solves.

These problems are provoked by the presence on the Uffizi plan of extensive buildings adjoining the Belvedere on the East: two massive halls and a temple crowning the Tower of Nicholas V. To attribute the design of these buildings to Peruzzi requires that this architect be assigned an hitherto unsuspected role in the planning of the Vatican palace before 1527. And, even if Peruzzi were discovered to have played such a role, under what pontiff would the idea have been entertained of expanding still further the far from completed project of Bramante? The implications of the Peruzzi attribution are difficult to resolve satisfactorily; particularly when such questions need not be raised if the character of the plan is left to speak for itself. Certainly the grandiose character of these buildings suggests Julius II more than any of his successors, just as the style of these additions seems more typical of Bramante than of Peruzzi. To accept this evidence raises no problems outside of the position of the Coner drawings vis-à-vis the Bramante project. And as evidence is lacking to support a claim that the Coner drawings are in fact earlier, precedence need not be denied the Uffizi plan. Actually there would seem, then, to be no reason for not believing Uffizi 287 to be one of those plans which Vasari tells us Antonio Sangallo prepared for Bramante. Or—why not?—a plan by Bramante himself, as Huelsen and Geymüller believed.

I feel that the author might have been led to similar conclusions if he had not taken the Coner drawings to be so binding. Had he not done so, the evidence of the Uffizi plan might have encouraged him to regard the Cortile as a part of a larger, over-all plan for the Vatican, a plan Vasari tells us was a concern of Bramante. Giving precedence to the Uffizi plan would have the effect of renewing this concept and counteracting the impression fostered by the Coner representation that Bramante conceived of the Belvedere as an isolated entity. Removing this impression leads to observations that may be of some significance for an understanding of the original Bramante project.

A concept different from the author's of the original Belvedere project also is hinted at if the testimony of the various elevation drawings is assessed without using the Coner drawings as a point of reference. Two observations must precede such an investigation. One

12. The Coner drawings play a major role in the very important and perceptive work by Wolfgang Lotz, "Das Raumbild in der italienischen Architekturzeichnung der Renais-

sance," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, VII, 1956, pp. 193-226.

concerns the previously unnoticed similarity which exists between the Serlio elevation (Cat. 15b) and the anonymous drawing Uffizi 1735 (Cat. 8). Both representations give to the building identical but inaccurate proportions, a correspondence which because of minor differences between the two in other respects makes any direct relationship unlikely, but which does suggest a common source for both. The suggestion of a common background for these two representations is of some assistance in evaluating their evidence. The second observation concerns the existence in the Tessin Collection at Stockholm of a previously uncited elevation drawing. Although at the present moment its author is unknown, internal evidence indicates a date at least before 1535.¹³ The drawing consists primarily of detailed representations of bases, capitals, entablatures, etc., relevant to the first two stories of the eastern corridor. In addition, a simple ground plan and a schematic elevation serve to locate these details. No other drawing provides such ample and precise information about the architectural members of Bramante's eastern corridor. At the same time, this drawing compounds a problem already created by the conflicting evidence of previously known illustrations.

The problem, not considered by the author, arises from the different ways in which the various drawings represent the pilaster capital of the second story. The Coner elevations show the pilaster capital of this Ionic story to be made up of a concave abacus, a rosette, and canted volutes. Its unusual form is that of a Composite capital stripped of acanthus leaves. In this instance the Coner drawings agree both with the Sangallo elevation of ca. 1541 (Uffizi 1408; Cat. 22) and with the pilaster capitals still existing on the present building. However, the Serlio elevation and the anonymous Uffizi 1735 drawing depict the pilaster order with a pure Ionic capital. As the same pure Ionic form is given to this capital by the Tessin drawing, there would appear to be established two clearly divergent accounts of the Belvedere elevation. The new Tessin evidence carries with it, however, an additional nuance which tends to blunt the sharp distinction between the two accounts, for there exists among the details appearing on the Tessin sheet a drawing of a Composite capital: concave abacus, rosette, canted volutes *and* acanthus leaves. An annoying bit of evidence the presence of which is made more puzzling by the fact that, unlike other details depicted, this one is not given an identifying mark by which it can be located on the elevation. The inclusion of a cross-section of the capital further obscures its relationship to the Belvedere pilaster capitals. Given these circum-

stances, an inclination to regard its presence on the Belvedere sheet as an accidental one might be justified, if it were not for the disturbing recollection its form calls up of the capital on the Coner drawings. Although a clear demarcation line between the two accounts is somewhat blurred by this information, the relevance of the problem would not seem to be diminished by the increased complexity. The conflicting testimony of the drawings cannot help but give rise to a question of whether a change occurred in the design or execution of the pilaster capitals.

Unfortunately no documentary evidence exists to provide an answer to this question, nor to a similar question which is raised by the different ways the various drawings treat the window openings of the second story. The Coner drawing is unique in representing alternating round and triangular pediments over the windows.¹⁴ They do not appear in the Sangallo elevation of 1541, nor in later views of the courtyard.¹⁵ More important, they do not exist in the Serlio elevation nor in the anonymous Uffizi 1735 drawing. The latter representation shows a flat cornice above the window, while the Serlio view leaves the window opening unadorned by any architectural member. The problem created by these differences, of whether such pediments were at some time either added or removed, cannot be solved on the basis of present evidence. However, an answer to both of the questions raised by this consideration of the drawings is made possible by paying attention to stylistic evidence.

Stylistically, the evidence of the Composite type Ionic capital and the window pediments would seem to point to a source other than Bramante for the Coner drawings and to a more complicated history of the Belvedere than has been suspected, for neither one of these features is to be found in other works of Bramante. Window openings designed by Bramante are generally plain or surmounted by a flat cornice, and the very classic Ionic pilasters of the Cloister of S. Maria della Pace would be curious predecessors of those of the Belvedere.¹⁶ To have to explain both of these features as being innovations of Bramante would appear somewhat difficult, particularly when both these features are more readily assimilated in the architectonic vocabulary of Raphael. Similar pilaster capitals, for example, may be found quite close by in the Ionic story of the Cortile di San Damaso, while heavy, alternating pediments occur frequently in Raphael's palace façades.

The differences that exist between the various elevations and the questions they pose would seem to require a revision of the author's belief that the plans by

as the author points out in an argument concerning the window pediments (pp. 21f).

16. The only building I know on which both of these features appear is the much remodeled, anonymous Palazzo Fieschi in Rome. A design for a similar capital does appear in the Peruzzi sketch of the cupola (Cat. 7) placed on the Torre Borgia by Bramante, although a different form for the same capital is shown in a cupola drawing by Giuliano Sangallo (Cat. 2).

13. Tessin Collection No. 1329. The drawing is one of a number of sheets coming from a sketchbook which also included drawings of the Tempietto and similar buildings. On first inspection they appear to be late sixteenth century copies of earlier drawings. One is a copy of a Francesco di Giorgio reconstruction of a Roman ruin, the only copy known to me of this part of the Turin codex.

14. The Tessin drawing is of no help here as it does not represent the wall arrangement of the second story.

15. The view by Aspertini is based on the Coner drawings,

Bramante for the Belvedere underwent no major change until about 1550. Not working with the assumption that the Coner drawings represent the project by Bramante, one is led, I believe, to a suspicion of changes having been made quite shortly after his death. It would not seem impossible that less of the eastern corridor was completed at the time of Bramante's death than previously believed, and that Raphael played a larger role in the elevation design of the Cortile. Stylistically the Coner drawing alone bears these implications. The fact that the Stockholm drawing represents only two stories may also be pertinent in suggesting the character of such changes, as may be the fact that the excuse Serlio offers for not providing detailed views or measurements of the second story is a weak one. All of these questions emerge on abandoning the Coner drawings, and confusion replaces a clear order of events. It may be, however, that such confusion is the accurate reflection of our present knowledge of the state of affairs at the Belvedere after Bramante's death.

The effect of allowing the Coner drawings to seek their own level is not, however, entirely destructive. Although the history of the Belvedere becomes more complicated and the Bramante project again lost to sight, a need is thereby created for looking at the evidence in a new context. Searching for a context which would take into account the apparently conflicting testimony of the drawings may lead to a new understanding and evaluation of other evidence. Had the author been required to approach the problem in a similar way it is possible that he would have given more weight to the testimony of another visual document: the bronze medal of ca. 1505-1512 which depicts the Cortile. It would appear to be a clue to a new context.

This medal is the initial entry in the author's chronologically arranged catalogue of representations of the Belvedere; for, although it bears no date, it clearly was struck during the lifetime of Julius II, whose portrait appears on the obverse. Information concerning its engraver implies the period 1505-1512 for the striking of the medal. The medal gives a bird's-eye view from the west of the entire Belvedere, showing schematically the courts, stairway, ramp, exedra, and western and eastern corridors. As the eastern corridor is depicted as being two stories high, the author concludes that the medal was designed from the actual building rather than from plans. He reaches this conclusion despite the fact that the western corridor, not executed under Julius II, is also indicated on the medal. Although the author mentions this fact, he does not heed the first inference this fact suggests, because the context created primarily by the Coner drawings leads him to view the medal as representing the Belvedere in the course of construction rather than as representing the project of Bramante. Not only does the testimony of the medal itself appear to be against

such a conclusion, but there seems to be no other example of a commemorative medal depicting the building in an incomplete state.

The purpose of such medals was not to record the course of actual construction but to indicate what was planned to be built, to convey an impression of the plan being put into execution. There is no reason to believe that the Belvedere medal might be different. It is similar to the medals struck showing the new St. Peter's and the Palazzo di Giustizia, medals whose purpose was to increase the renown of Julius II by illustrating the mighty works he commissioned. As documents they tell us, albeit somewhat crudely, something of the original project. The simplest statement of what the Belvedere medal tells us is that Bramante planned the eastern corridor of the lower courtyard to be two stories high.

Such an indication provides a new context in which to view the project and the history of the Belvedere. The fact that work evidently was not begun on the third story until after Bramante's death gives some basis for accepting the evidence of the medal as a working hypothesis. It is an hypothesis which becomes more appealing upon application. Outside of the Serlio text there is little against it,¹⁷ and a great deal in its favor because of the questions it explains. Assuming the addition of a third story to the original project to have been an afterthought would account, for example, for the fact that no clear idea appears to have existed among contemporaries about the form such a third story was to take. Such an assumption could also reconcile the different representations of the second story since increasing the height of the elevation would have made desirable certain changes in the decorative details of the Ionic order. Construction of a third story on foundations calculated only to support two is an hypothesis which would provide an explanation more generous to Bramante's ability as an architect than the reason advanced by Vasari for the 1531 collapse of the corridor. To conceive of the eastern corridor as having been added to would also point out the advantages of considering the Belvedere only as a part of a larger plan for the Vatican. It encourages one to see the corridor in relation to the loggia on the palace façade (now Cortile di San Damaso) which received a similar addition from the hands of Raphael, but where a disaster similar to the collapse of the corridor in 1531 was averted, Vasari tells us, by the work of Antonio Sangallo. A lower courtyard of two stories would also be a context in which it would be possible to account for the presence of the exterior stairwell alongside the intermediate courtyard. Its position would clearly mark a change in the level of the building, and its presence would be necessary if the principle was to be observed of providing easy access to all parts of the Belvedere from the east, apparently a desire of Bramante in view of the other stairways.

Is there any reason, however, for accepting this

approached with a preconceived idea of what the Belvedere looked like their phrasing is difficult to force into a meaningful context.

17. Both the Albertini 1509 description of the Belvedere and the inscription on the commemorative medal itself are too vague to be clearly opposed to the hypothesis. Even when

appealing hypothesis other than the evidence the medal offers and the opportunity it offers of solving certain problems? Interestingly enough the only extensive description of the project of Bramante for the Belvedere encourages this hypothesis, although the author understandably did not consider it in this light. During the period in which Ligorio had brought the Cortile almost to completion, Vasari composed an account of Bramante's original project.¹⁸ In it he tells us that Bramante planned the lower courtyard to be two orders in height: one Doric, one Ionic. Nothing is said about a Corinthian order, although Vasari goes into great detail concerning the first two orders. He compares the Doric order to that of the Theater of Marcellus, a building understood by the Renaissance as consisting of but two stories in height,¹⁹ and tells us that the material to be used was Travertine marble. The two orders were to reach the level of the first floor of the papal palace and the ground floor of the Belvedere, exactly the level attained by the lower two stories of the eastern corridor. Together the two orders were to make a loggia some 400 paces long on the side toward Rome, a structure which Bramante planned to duplicate on the other side.²⁰ The information given by Vasari about Bramante's project is so specific that there would seem to be little doubt that the hypothesis suggested by the commemorative medal is correct. Even Vasari's reference to Travertine marble is pertinent for only the first two stories of the eastern corridor were executed in this material; the third story being built of Peperino stone.²¹

The author's reconstitution of the Bramante project apparently, then, would need to be revised in this respect. If the lower courtyard was originally to have had an elevation of two stories, as seems probable, then the history of the period 1514-1523 is also subject to revision. In these areas questions still remain to be answered. The role of Raphael as papal architect is perhaps the one most desirable of answering, and the Coner elevation may be a hint in this direction. Also rewarding would be further study of the relationship between the Cortile and the loggia facing the *giardino segreto*, and the question of when a fourth story was planned for the eastern corridor might be a part of this study. Eventually information may be gained about the elevation of the south wall of the Cortile and conceiving of the corridor as two stories high may suggest a solution to the role of the corner towers which must have been a crucial factor in the design

of this elevation. It should be pointed out, however, that all of these questions can be considered more readily and with greater chance of success because of the very book which occasioned their being raised.

Although the author's suggested reconstitution and history may need slight revision little can detract from the final section of the book dealing with Bramante's style and sources of inspiration. Here the author has made important contributions to a proper understanding of the underlying concepts of the Belvedere and thus broadened our understanding of Renaissance architecture at the beginning of the sixteenth century. He is adept at revealing the implications of a ground-plan, able to understand and convincingly describe the effect of a building on the spectator. This last ability enables him to grasp the form and organization of the Cortile in its entirety and thus come up with the exciting discovery that this architectural complex was designed with a painter's sense of perspective, the vanishing point being established directly opposite the windows of the Stanze. This same visual awareness led him to recognize the fresco by Perino del Vaga to be an important document for the history of the Belvedere.

The romantic view of the Belvedere as a classical ruin, which the Del Vaga fresco presents, becomes in the hands of the author an opening step in a consideration of the ancient sources responsible for Bramante's conception of the Cortile. In addition to the previously recognized influence of the sanctuary at Palestrina, the author gives as possible sources the literary descriptions of the Roman villa by classical authors, the *Horti Aclorum*, the Palatine hippodrome, and other examples available to Bramante of both terrace architecture and the circuslike plan. The unique combination in the Belvedere of features found in these several sources makes it difficult to choose from among them a single source of inspiration for Bramante. However, after considering the many possibilities, the author is inclined to favor the hippodrome on the Palatine as having influenced the conception of the Belvedere in the most fundamental way because the use of such a form would have provoked in the Renaissance mind an association between the Imperial and Papal palaces.

The author would, I believe, have been able to make an even stronger case for such a connection if he had considered how the ruins on the Palatine were understood during the Renaissance. Apparently this entire expanse of ruins was taken to be the remains of a single, gigantic palace in which the structure now recognized

18. The entire section describing the project of Bramante appears for the first time in the edition of 1568. In addition, Vasari took the opportunity of the second edition to insert other details about Bramante's work into the text of the original 1550 edition.

19. Interestingly enough in the Coner sketchbook an elevation drawing of the Theater of Marcellus precedes the Belvedere elevations.

20. Of this project, Vasari continues, Bramante finished the eastern corridor "eccetto l'ultima loggia che dovea andar di sopra." Various interpretations of this passage are possible depending upon the context in which it is read. However, as Vasari specifically refers to the project when making this

statement I should think that it would have to be interpreted in that light. Frey, *op.cit.*, p. 52, cites this passage to prove that only the two lower stories were *constructed* by Bramante, but he does not mention Vasari's description of the project. The reading given to this passage by the generally accurate Mrs. Jonathan Foster is puzzling but apparently was made to conform to what Vasari had said about the project. Her text (II, p. 433) reads: "the last part of the Loggia which was to ascend the acclivity and occupy the higher level *excepted*" but this would not seem to be justified by the actual wording of the phrase in the original. No other Vasari edition known to me gives a similar reading.

21. Also mentioned by Frey, *op.cit.*, p. 52.

as having been a hippodrome was thought to have been a courtyard. Such, at least, would seem to be the inference to be drawn from the identification of it by Panvinio as "Atrium Palatinum." Similarly, on the plan drawn to record the 1552 excavations, Ligorio referred to it as "Atrio Augustale Palatino."²² That the hippodrome was conceived of as an atrium during the Renaissance would seem to make more plausible the association seen by the author between the "atrium" on the Palatine and the "Atrio del Piacere" on the Mons Vaticanus. In addition, the author's understanding of the Renaissance mind would seem to be further borne out by the casual remark of Marliani relating the Imperial palace to the papal residence. To the impression of Perino del Vaga, the artist, may be added that of his contemporary, the guidebook writer Marliani. One saw in the work of Bramante a memory of the ruins of antiquity; the other saw in the papal palace a reconstruction of the ruins on the Palatine. Something of the impression the Cortile del Belvedere

had on contemporaries can now be shared by us because the fundamental book²³ on this work by Bramante has been written.

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ADDENDA AND ERRATA: THE ART BULLETIN,
MARCH 1957

Professor Frankl makes grateful acknowledgement to Professor Richard Hamann McLean for Figures 6, 7, 8, 9. In Figure 11 the caption should read: "at crypt level (right); at choir level (left)."

In Professor Eisenberg's article on page 51, the first clause of the opening sentence should read: "Although the mature works of Lorenzo Monaco offer the quintessential Florentine statement of the International style. . . ."

22. Both of the above quotations are given in an article not cited by the author: Ch. Huelsen, "Untersuchungen zur topographie des Palatins" *Mitteilungen des deutschen Archäologischen Institut in Rom*, x, 1895, pp. 276-283.

23. It is disappointing to discover that the most recent book dealing with the Belvedere (Otto H. Foerster, *Bramante*, Vienna, 1956) contains no reference to this work or to any of the important and perceptive articles written by Ackerman.

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